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PACQUET
OF
ADVICES
AND
ANIMADVERSIONS,

Sent from LONDON

To the Men of SHAFTSBURY:

Which is of Use for all His MAJESTIES
Subjects in the Three Kingdoms.

Occasioned by a Seditious Phamphlet, Intituled,

*A Letter from a Person of Quality to His
Friend in the Countrey.*

*by
Macfie and Co.*



LONDON, Printed in the Year 1676.

A
P A C Q U E T
 OF
A D V I C E S
 AND
A N I M A D V E R S I O N S,

Sent from *London* to the Men of *Shaftsbury*, &c.

Ye Men of Shaftsbury, both Lords and Gentlemen,



IS well, that in this Interval of Parliament, we have some time for Contemplation, and rest from Business, that so we might reflect upon what we have done, as well as consider what we ought next to do; and in cool Bloud ponder the Nature, and probable Events of those Counsels that some of us so fiercely prosecuted in the *Last Session*, 1675. together with the By-ends of such as first set them on foot, and engaged us to serve them: the danger whereof, while we were in the heats of Passion and Transaction, it was hardly possible for us to apprehend.

And now (*S I R S*) this being our season for thinking, pray you think in the first place who gave the Occasion for so long an Interval. Why was it that His M A J E S T Y was constrained to put an End to your High Debates? and by so long a *Prorogation*, but that it was your *Little Friend's* Great Aim it should be so, and that the K I N G should not be able to do otherwise? I mean *Mephistophiles*, the Faery Fiend that haunts Both Houses, of whom I have been told, the Witty Duke of *Buckingham* likened him to *Will-with-a-wisp*, that uses to lead Men out of the way; then leaves them at last in a Ditch and Darkness, and nimbly retreats for Self-security. This (no doubt) the Noble Duke had not only observed long since, in his frequent Jilting with others; but had also (if he please to remember) fresh experiences of him, in his late shifting of Counsels ere he left *White-Hall*: So that, I suppose all Intelligent Persons will be

wary how they imbarque with him any more. For, this is the prime Quality of the Person; now let us next see, what the Contents of that LETTER are to the Friend in the Countrey.

Truely, whoever was its Father, it looks like somewhat that would fain get out in the World in the Figure of XLI: for, upon strict view it will appear so (as I shall shew you by and by) with every Feature, Limb and Proportion of the Old Faction: insomuch as there can be no Man, that ever felt the sad Consequents of that Year, or remembers the *Sea of blood* that then we swam in, and many Years after; with the Plunderings, Free-Quarters, and Desolations that followed on every side, and what in the end we got by the *Faction*; but must reckon himself bound in Conscience and Prudence, to bid his Friends in the Countrey and City too, to learn, by considering the dark Contrivances past, (whose dire Effects a little After-time brought to light) how to understand the present, and prevent a being gull'd in the future: and to take heed how they entertain fly Insinuations and Discontents about matters above them; or give ear to the Voice of the crafty Charmer.

Wherefore, for his Countrey-Friend's sake, and more particularly for your sakes, I hasten to the unravelling of this LETTER; which I will not call his; though those that have ask'd him do say he but faintly denies it, and in such phrases as signified plain enough that he would not for all the World but be thought the Author, or at least the Intelligencer. So pleasing is the *Itch of a little Wit* in Print, that some Men would not lose it at any rate. But from you, my good Friends of Shaftesbury, I doubt not to finde more Wisdom, than to be *witticised* out of the good old plain way of Honour, Allegiance, Publick Interest, and Peace, or to be *wisp'd* and *Lanthorn'd* in the dark by a *small Goblin*, into the *Bryers* at best; but rather (I fear) into the Pit of Destruction.

The L E T T E R.

IT begins with divers Suggestions.

I. That the Test, which was under debate in the House of Peers the last Session of Parliament, was a State-Master-piece, first batcht among the Great Church-Men.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

Right 41. in the very Front! Thus began the STATE-MASTER-PIECE of those Dayes; is the common Method of preparing of Rebellion; and so it hath been in (all Ages: For when any one designed it, he first assaulted, not the Prince himself, that would have been too gross) but began with some one principal Part or Person of his Government, and so proceeded by degrees to alter it. Thus it was in 41: For though the designers well knew the Temper of England, that it would not be govern'd without the Old State Ecclesiastical, yet they first found fault with the Governours the Bishops; and when they had taken off some of the Persons, then they next devised how to diminish their power; and lastly, took away their whole Order; and so one Pillar of the Throne being gone, it was not long ere they tutor'd the People to the overturning of the other, as *useless* and *dangerous*; so that you know what became of the Throne it self. Nor were they, by the Rules of Ungodly Policy, to be blamed for this: For, when once Men are dipt in an ill beginning, they presently think they are bound to prosecute; and each Man concludes to himself, in the Language of *Catiline*,

*The Ills which I have done, cannot be safe
But by attempting greater.*

But why the Bill of *Test* should be Father'd on the Bishops more than upon the other Lords of Parliament, I see not, since the Major part of their Lordships were Zealous in the opinion and promotion of it, as a thing that would prove a notable means of the Crown's Stability, and the KING's Peace and Safety. But it seem'd more adviseable to your Prime Engineer, after he had labour'd to render the *Test* as odious as he could, then to fasten it on the Bishops, that it might the better suit with that lucky Pattern of 41. But more of this *Test* hereafter where I particularly consider it.

L E T T E R.

2. **T**HAT the Bishops do design to make a distinct Party of the High-Episcopal-man, and the Old Cavalier, by tempting them with the hopes of enjoying all the Power, Great Offices, and Advantages, by overthrowing the *Act of Oblivion*, if they can get any to fight the Old Quarrel over again.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

Iook ye into that Book, called, *An exact Collection of all Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes, Orders, Ordinances, &c.* which was printed, Anno 1642. and in the Fourth Page of that *Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, which your Masters presented the year before to His Majesties Father, you'll finde the Old Copy of your New Calumny against the Bishops; for, they were then charged, with a *Design to introduce a Change*; and, by *imbroiling the King and his People with Disputes about Prerogative and Liberty*, to *create unto themselves a distinct Party*, under a pretence of being for the King; *that so having the advantage of siding with Him, and under the Notion of Men addicted to His Service, they might, in the end gain to Themselves, and their Partakers, the Places of greatest Trust, Power and Advantage in the Kingdom*.

Who would have imagin'd, that Men could be thus Ungrateful to His Majesty, after so Gracious an *Act of Oblivion*, as to be found reviving the Old Names of Distinction? What is this but to set the Old Quarrel on foot again? and to begin it upon the same Point, of charging the Bishops as the Causers of it? Thus Nero made it his busines to set *Rome* on fire, and then charged the Fact upon the *Christians*. Who are they that are most likely to be Projecting unto themselves the Power and Great Offices of the Kingdom, but you your selves, who are ready to make room with an Out-cry against the Great Officers? There is one among you, who knows how to drive a Bargain for great Offices at the price of your Heads, if any Body thought it worth the while to truck with him; and then we should know who they are that take Courses to overthrow the *Act of Oblivion*; and in the mean while do shoot Slanders at His Majesty, and His Ministers through the Bishops sides, as if it were they that joynly design against it; whereas His Majesty hath been so far from breaking the *First*, that 'tis not long since he granted a *Second Act of Oblivion*: and your Friend *MEPHISTOPHILES* Himself had so great a share in the benefit of it, that one would even swear it was granted for His sake, or that He principally for His own sake procured it. Therefore He had best take heed He do not bring on a *Popular State* too fast, unless they will beforehand seal him another *Oblivion*, lest *My Lords the People* come, at length, to knock at his door for a better Account, and set up *Brook-house* anew for him hereafter.

L E T T E R.

3. **N**EXT, That the Bishops design to have the Government of the Church sworn to as unalterable; and so, tacitely owned, to be of Divine Right: toward the attaining of which station, Churchmen easily break through all Obligations whatsoever.

Thus the Blows light on the Bishops; but his Aim is at His Majesties Government: only 'tis not time of day yet to let us know what he would be at. For, in the mean time he writes fair after his 41. Copy; for, you may read in the *Grand Remonstrance* of the Commons, *Anno 1641.* that it was charged on the Bishops in those dayes, *That they imposed a new Oath for maintainance of their own Power.* God forbid that that *Remonstrance*, which then took the frame of Government all in pieces, should be thought to be the *Act of an House of Commons.* Many thousands are yet living, who know it was but a Party in that House, who, by the help of Tumults continually flowing out of the City, like a mighty inundation upon *Whitehall* and *Westminster*, did, by Threats and Violence upon both Houses, animate a *Presbyterian* Party in that House, to be able to over-awe the rest, and carry on that *Remonstrance* by head and shoulders; as they did also afterward many other strange *Petitions*, *Declarations*, *Votes*, and *Ordinances*; to the dishonor of the King, in order to the undermining of His Authority, and the ancient Government of the Kingdom: And this way they carried matters so long, and with such heat and fury, that in tract of time, the best part of the House of Commons, perceiving they were not able to stop this Career, by any prudent Counsels or endeavours, resolved to sit no longer with such company, to be made a State and Property to such unparliamentary Proceedings; and so at length departed from them to *Oxford*, whether His Majesty and most of the House of Lords also had been forced to retire, from the insolent Assaults, daily made by the City Multitudes, which were under the Countenance, and at the command of that All-commanding Party of the Commons, seconded by some few of the Lords, who helpt to hold up the form & shadow of a Parliament so long, till the very name of a House of Peers was at last obliterated. A sad Instance it is, to teach their Successors what they may expect in future, whensoever seduced through discontent or envy, to affect *Popularity*, they shall again (which God forbid) separate their own personal Interests, and that of their *Peerage*, from the Interests of the Crown, upon any (though the most spacious) pretences whatsoever.

Hear what the King Himself said of those Tumults, in His *Exhortation*, for doubtless He could best tell, who felt the effects of them: and what Person is there that ever loved Him, or engaged for him, would be willing to see His Son, our most Gracious King, assaulted with the like? Or that can with patience hear, that some Lords, and other persons are turn'd Tradesmen and Exchange-men in the City, and become free there of the Company of *Demagogues*? [*They were (saith he) not like a Storm at Sea (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundation of all ; than which nothing in the world hath more of horror.* No Declaration from the Bishops, who were first insolent and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor, nor yet from myself could take place, for the due repression of those Tumults; and for the securing, not only our freedom in Parliament, but our very persons in the streets. when I saw things thus, I hoped, by my withdrawing, to give time for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury.] Note here (ye *Shaftesburians*) first the Bishops assaulted, then the Members of Parliament, and then the King Himself: this was the fruit then; and, this would be again the issue of your *Little Leaders* trading with ill-humours in the City against Bishops; but that there is a Sound and Loyal Magistracy to ballance Malecontents, and observe both him and them in all their Motions; so that it will be a hard matter for that small *Bouteau*, to blow up the Government again, by undermining it on the Bishops side: for one Trick of State is not to be shew'n twice, within the memory of man; so that now (I suppose) he hath lived to see the utmost of his old Trade of Jugling, having Jugled himself out of all at Court; and being past hope of Jugling himself in again (all his Feats being well understood there----) he sets up at t'other end of h'.

Tow

Town, to Juggle up a Mutiny in the City; in hope to finde combustible matter there to set Fire to in the Country; and, at length, inflame a Party for his purpose in this Parliament, or rather in a *New One*, which he supposes will be the likeliest expedient: And truly, he did as good as tell us so in that Letter written above a Twelve moneth since out of the Country to the E. of *Carlisle* at *London*, or rather imposed upon him: which was indeed superscribed to his Lordship, but intended for a Fireball among the Citizens here; as appeared by the Industrious Spreading Copies of it in all the Coffee-houses; and the Effect which it, and his other Practises since had; and which lately inspired Mr. *Jenks* with the wisdom of a States-man, to instruct His Majesty, and move the Matter at *Guildhall* in Common-Council, to be managed in the old Presbyterian way of Petitioning; a sort of *Saucy Humility*, much used by that Tribe in the beginning of their Rebellion. These things should not be remember'd, but that they themselves are pleased to revive them, and give us cause to judge, that they hope one day to have a Pull for it in a New Parliament with the Bishops, and then with His Majesty. In order to which, *M E P H I S T O-P H I L E S* hath one Expedient more upon the Anvile; and that is, to use all manner of Tricks that may be, by *L O N G S P E E C H E S*, and *L O N G D E B A T E S* among the Lords, and the *S T A R T I N G* of *C O N T R O V E R S I E S* about *P r i-
v i l e d g e*, betwixt their Lordships and the Commons, to *F R U S T R A T E* Dispatches of the King and Kingdome's Business; and so Necessitate the Present Parliament to become *Unserviceable*, that he may obtain a Plausible Pretence, to draw in the People to cry out for a *New One*, as the only Cure of all our Maladies. But how improbable a thing that is (if not impossible) you shall finde evidently proved before the end of these *Ani-
m adversions*.

L E T T E R.

4. *A*s the Bishops design to have the Government of the Church sworne to, as unalterable: so in requital to the Crown, they declare the Government absolute and arbitrary; and allow Monarchy as well as Episcopacy to be *Jure Divino*, and not to be bounded by *Hu-
mane Laws*.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

More Sacks to the mill upon the Bishops. Load them till ye sink 'em: That (it seems) must be first done; then down with Monarchy: that follows of course, as we well and wofully remember. 'Tis done then like a Workman, to tell the world, that Episcopacy is alterable, that the People may not, in any sense, owne it to be of Divine Right; and so it will be easily concluded, that Monarchy also is alterable; because his Believers cannot believe it to be *Jure Divino*. 'Tis a great Crime indeed (Sirs) in the Bishops, that they stand thus in the way of this *Alterability*, and that they maintain Kings to have any Divinity about 'em. We have had of late many fine Points publickly Printed, and exposed to the Debates of the Multitude; such as this, *Whether Kings be made of Clouts, or no?* but, What deserves the man that starts such Hares as these, which no man can run down, but he must run the ready Road to Rebellion, and Alteration of Government? which its impossiblly to prevent, unless we hold up the Veneration that is due to the Head and Members of this Monarchy. But, had I any thoughts of Rebelling; or were I a *Cathie-
r'd or Broken Statesman*, not likely in fair weather to lift aside my *Rivals*, and get in again with the Monarch my Master, I would (had I so little in me of a Christian, or a good Subject) take all the course I could to gather Clouds about him, & create a Storm; that I might force him to come to me for shelter, or take me to himself again to help him to weather it. Had I long'd, and long done any thing, for the place of *Treasurer*, & unluckily mist the Bag; &c, by all the good Qualities of *Judas*, pretended as high merit to it

it as any man; or to the *Seale*; or to any grand Office of State, that such a *Gnat of Ambition* as I durst venture to swallow; had I been bobb'd out of All, I would even fall to Courting the People after the same manner, and Preach up the Mortality of Kings, till I and my Myrmidons could fright him out of his Divinity, and replace me, and scare him out of the remembrance also of all my Jugglery, into a *new Oblivion* to secure me: Then would I remove and laugh at all my Opposits; and the Citizens too, and leave them at last to contemplate my wisdom, & their own folly. All this (Sirs) with the help of one your *Shaftsbury Consciences* I could easily do.

And if this could not be done, then would I march on further, and follow the dictates of Nature for Self-preservation; and sticking close to the Multitude, drive them on to do any thing that might hamper the King, and shackle the Monarchy; or (if need require) transforme it into the hands of *Conservators*; or else (in case that cannot be) precipitate my self and it to the very bottom of *Democracy*, rather than not be revenged on my Sovereign Master, for favouring and prefering my fellow-servants and competitors before me: The Poet saith,

*We are Princes all, if we prevail;
And gallant Villains, if we fail.*

Would not any Man then think it well done of the Bishops, to plead for the Divinity of *Kingly Govrnmr*, and of the *Episcopal*, (which is a part of the *Kingly*) when there are some in the World that design to handle them without all Humanity? and would (had they opportunity) by a common ruine both of King and Bishops, too late convince this Nation, that by all means there ought to be a joint Interest of mutual preservation maintained betwixt them; and that the *Monarchy cannot, in reason, be supposed maintainable without it*. If this be so, (as I shall sufficiently manifest anon, when I come to consider the late clamour against the *T E S T*) then 'tis high time for all Men that have sworn Allegiance, to apprehend that the Government of Church and State ought to be sworn to, as so Divine, as not to be alterable, till they can tell us a way how to lay aside the Right of *Episcopacy* at this time in *England*, without ruining the Monarchy.

If so be then I have a purpose to make good my Allegiance to the King, how can I scruple to swear not to alter the Church, which is a principal part of his *Kingly Government*? By the one Oath I have sworn to him in both his Capacities, *Personal* and *Politick*, (which are never to be separated) why then should I deny an Oath obliging me not to alter the *Kingly polity of the Church*? which is as much the Kings Government, though stiled *Ecclesiastical*, as the other part is which we term *Purely civil*. Consider then (ye Men of *Shaftsbury*) the Obligation to both parts of the Government is equal, by virtue of your Oath of Allegiance; and if his Majesty and the Bishops, and many Noble Peers, have thought of passing a *New Oath*, they did no more but what is very necessary, in the midst of all the present Underminings of this Monarchy on its *Episcopal* quarter: that is, thy thought it wisdom to fortifie that part with mens swearing to it, expressly and plainly by a new Oath; which is no more than what was implicitly contained before in their old *Oath of Allegiance*: and which is not to be found fault with more than the old, by any but such persons as either hold it not lawful, or have no mind to swear Allegiance at all; or else are very fairly inclined to forfeit it. And yet what a world of fine Speeches, what a stir, and what a pother, doth our Author tell his Friend in the Countrey, this, and that, and t'other Lord, made in the House of Peers against the Swearing!

And every jot as wise a busines 'tis (which indeed, considering the drift of it, deserves a *Capital Animadversion*) that this Gentleman in Print is pleased to start such a Question as this, whether *Monarchy, as well as Episcopacy, be Jure Divino, and not to be bounded by Human Laws?* What the drift is of raising such *Querries* among the Populacy, at such a time

time as this, let sober Men consider. A man might easily gheſſ, what a Monarch, not bounded by a *Human Spirit*, would do to such a Spright as this, who ought rather to be anſwered with that old Motto, *Ratio ultima Regum*; which would be hung about his Neck, by a Prince of as little Humanity as this Man himself appears to be, after all the Graces and Bounties by him received, and thus ungratefully required. The Kings one ſingle Act of ſparing ſuch a *Factioniſt*, as well as all the other Acts of his Majesties Government, doth maniſt, that he himſelf affects only a *Temperate Monarchy*, to govern by Law: Nor can the Bishops be justly charged with affecting any other, or ever to have had any other design about it than this, to teach the people there is ſo much of a Divinity in the Rights and Persons of Kings, that they ought in their High Station to be Reverenced and Obeyed by the Subject, for Conſcience fake. This *Divine Right* is certainly due to them, and to Bishops also who are Gouernours under them, no to be thought alterable, under any pretence whatſoever, till his Maieſty can be fairly convinced of ſome better way of ordering the Affairs of a National Church, which may more effectually anſwer the Good Ends of Regal Government: and truly, till that be done by this Letter-man, 'tis down-right Sedition, with Treafon (I fear) in its Belly, for him to deſign the making of a Party againſt Bishops, to hinder the paſſing of any Expedient (heit an Oath, or any other) that might fortifie ſo Fundamental a part of the Monarchy.

L E T T E R.

5. **A**ND to ſecure all this, they reſolve to take away the Power and Opportunity of Parliaments to alter any thing in Church or State; only leave them as an instrument to raise Money, and to paſſ ſuch Laws as the Court and Church ſhall have a mind to. The Attempt of any other, how neceſſary ſoever, muſt be no leſs a Crime than Perjury.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

Court and Church! That is to ſay, The King and the Bishops; for, the Court is nothing without the King. They are well joyned together; for take away either of these, and they both fall together, the Government being ſo ordered in *England*, that they ſtand Props to each other. Therefore, as dull a Politician as I am, if I meant to raise Sedition, or commence Rebel, I would not ſay a word againſt the King and Monarchy; (that would be too foul at firſt, whatever my Aim were:) but away with Bishops; and then, of course, I ſhall be able to talk of, and with his Maieſty. But yet, in caſe I ſhould ſo plainly diſcover my purpoſe to imbroil the Nation, as Some-body hath done, by baiting the Bishops both in and out of the House of Peers, I confeſs I ſhould hardly believe a King would have the patience to let me go about, and diſcourse, and write, and print thus, to drive on my deſign among the Subjects in City and Country. It would be a wonderful evidence of his Lenity, and ſuch as might melt me, or the heart of any man, that is not in Nature a Tygre, or of the ſtrain of the people of *Shaftſbury*, into a time Repentance.

Eſpecially, if it be conſidered, that the ſcope of this laſt Paragraph is, to ſuggest unto the people, as if the King with his Minifters, and the Bishops, were plotting a Deſtruction of the Power of Parliament, ſo as it ſhall not be able to alter any thing in Church or State; nor be able to make and alter Laws in future as their Predeceſſours have done, without incurring the crime of Perjury. This is a ſtrange Age, that no Doctrine will take but that of altering, or pulling down an ancient Government, before we are provided either of Amendments for what we are to alter in the old, or of a new and better Form to be ſubſtituted in its room when we take it away. But a thing it is, much more ſtrange, that one ſingle Sophiſter, having lately undergone, and deſerved an alteration of his Fortune, ſo as to have been turn'd out of his great Offices, and the Court too for his Tricks, ſhould

should gain the Ears and Belief of so many Noble Peers ; and seal up their eyes too, that they should not see his design of revenge through all his pretences : which (alace !) had never been thought of, but Bishops, and King, and Court too, had continued very good Men ; and we should have had neither Speech nor *Protestation* of his, as long as he could have enjoyed (nor had we, so long as he did enjoy) a Courtiers share among them. Nor would he ever have vouchsafed the kindnes of any *Letters to his Friends in the Country*, but the *Oath of Test* might have passed current, as a good expedient, for preserving the Government from any unnecessary alteration : and he would have told you also another Tale, had it happened that any Parliament-Man should have risen up then, as vile as himself, to act the same part for an Alteration (or rather Subversion) of the Government : and he could readily have maintained the Test very necessary to be taken by Parliament-Men, to secure both King and Parliament from the ruine designed. And moreover, he can tell you, That it is no news for Parliament-Men, before they enter the Parliament, to take an Oath to be true to the Government as it is Established ; and yet not to reckon themselves so bound up by the Oath, as to lose their power and liberty to debate and resolve upon such Alterations afterward, in the Establishment as shall be found needful. What needed then all this Clamour of his ? seeing the Test would have done no more than the Oath of Allegiance doth, oblige the Parliament to maintain the present Establishment of Church and State against all alterations, till King and Parliament shall judge them needful to be made : As shall be made evident anon, when I come to consider it in more ample manner. And yet, what a Clatter have we had about it !

L E T T E R.

6. **A**ND as the Topstone of the whole Fabrick, a pretence shall be taken from the Jealousies themselves have raised, and a real necessity from the smallness of their Party, to increase and keep up a Standing Army ; and then in due time the Cavalier and Churchman will be made greater Fools, but as errant Slaves as the rest of the Nation.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

THe Cavalier and Church-man do very well remember, when it was that they were made Slaves, and by whom. Was it not presently after the Bishops and Church been alter'd ? And by what manner of persons were these things done ? Even by those very Lords and Commons, who in their great *Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, Anno, 1641. declared, That they conceived their Proceedings to be traduced by such Men as did infuse into the People, that they meant to abolish the Church-Government ; or to absolve any Man of that obedience which he owes under GOD to his MAJESTY, whom they confess to be intrusted with the Ecclesiastical Laws, as well as with the Temporal. And in their *Declaration of the Ninth of April, 1642.* they declare, That they intended only a due and necessary Reformation of the Government and Liturgy of the Church ; and to take away nothing in the one or the other, but what shall be evil, and justly offensive. And yet, 'tis not long after that we find them voting and throwing down the whole Church-Government ; and, at length, that of the State too ; notwithstanding all the Protestations by them made to the contrary, before God and the World. Therefore neither Cavaliers nor Church-men can, after so late and sad an experience of Alterability and Alteration, be such fools as not to understand what they have seen and felt, by such Alterative humors as are now afloat again ; and what the issue of them would be, if they might have way : especially, seeing the same *Presbyterian faction* are brewing afresh ; and so visibly, that we need not seek pretences to raise jealousy about their doings ; forasmuch as they are bare-fac'd and busie ; and our Projecting Dandeprat, whose actions are accountable, at least within the the Statute against firing of Houses, openly acting the Kindle-coal in Parliament,

liament, to create a Party there for their purpose: and because he cannot yet finde a House of Commons for the turn, you have him and his Agents everywhere about the City, Preaching up a necessity of *Calling a New One*; and from London this Doctrine is spread into the Countreys, with good Counsel to dispose the People to the old Way of Petitioning; that by a full Cry, the King may be in a manner constrained to give them opportunity once more to try their Fortunes by a new Election. This is more than jealousy, as Mr. Jenks (if he please) can tell you, so that our Author might have spared this *Frump*, which he flings at those few Forces which his Majesty hath been, and is necessitated to keep up to secure the Government: of which Forces he and his Partisans are, by their Seditious (if not Treasonous) Speeches, Letters, and Practices, the most likely men to cause an augmentation; so that if ever a necessity arise that they must be augmented to prevent those mens purposes, the Nation may from hence understand, whom they are to thank for it, and how to excuse the hard condition of a Gracious King, who would rather rule by love, and sets more value upon a Regiment, in the universal good Wills and Hearts of his Subjects, than in all the Regiments of force and violence in the World. And, how small soever this Letter insinuates his Majesties Party to be; yet, if ever God, for our manifold sins, should suffer incendiaries to blow up a new Rebellion by their tracing the same methods, that they used who promoted the former; it will soon appear, by the many Thousands that abhor it, and its Contrivers, that all the rest of the Nation will become ready Volunteers, either in Purse or Person, to defeat their Enterprises, and prevent the like miseries and confusions, as those were, that the same Faction brought upon us heretofore. In the mean time, 'tis but reason they should declaim against *standing Forces*, because these few do stand in their way, though they are no great number; and are as a Bridle in their mouths; so that 'twill be a hard matter for them to get out the *Old Tools* to go to Work with, I mean *Tumults out of the City*; which were easily form'd in those dayes, when they had none to deal with but a *naked King*, and a Guard of Beef-eaters.

But, Why is it that he cryes out, *We are like to be made Slaves?* To perswade men to the belief of it, he is pleased to insist upon four following instances, *viz.* four Acts of this Parliament, which are indeed as high and necessary Acts of Prudence, as could be passed by Parliament, to preserve the Monarchy; and fence it against the designs of any new Rebellion, that may in future be grounded upon the old humors.

LETTER.

7. **I**N order to this, the first step was made in the *Act for Regulating Corporations*; wisely beginning, that in those lesser Governments, which they meant afterwards to introduce upon the Government of the Nation, they might make them swear to a Declaration, and belief of such Propositions, as themselves afterward, upon debate, were enforced to alter, and could not justify in those words; so that many of the wealthiest, worthiest, and soberest men, are still kept out of the Magistracy of those places.

ANIMADVERSIO.

Upon perusal of this *Act*, you will find it was high reason that moved the Parliament to pass it, as appears by this preamble, *viz.* That the succession in governing such Corporations, may be most probably perpetuated in the hands of persons well-affected to his Majesty, and the established Government; it being too well known, that notwithstanding all His Majesties endeavours, and unparalleled indulgence in pardoning all that is past, nevertheless many evil spirits are still working. Wherefore, for prevention of the like mischief for the time to come, and for preservation of the publick peace both in Church and State, Commissioners are appointed to see, that all Mayors, Recorders, Aldermen, and other persons bearing Office of Magistracy

Magistracy, Trust, or Employment, relating to the Government of Cities, Corporations, and Burroughs, do take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy ; and another Oath, That they do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King ; and that they do abhor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against His Person, or against those that are commissionated by Him.

And at the same time also the said Commissioners are to see, that such persons do subscribe a Declaration ; declaring, That they do hold, that there lies no Obligation upon themselves, or any other person from the Oath commonly called, The Solemn League and Covenant ; and that the same was in it self an unlawful Oath, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Realm, against the known Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.

This was an Act of the whole Parliament ; and ther's no reason therefore why our Letter-men should charge it on the Bishops alone, but that the main Aim is at them first ; and for what cause, I have already told you. 'Tis conceived the ready way to go to work, it having been the beaten way to ataque the Government on that side ; for this, the Party is a forming ; the Presbyterian hath been tickled in his own way ; and the other sorts of Non-conformists are to be drawn in, if they can be brought to forget the Revenges of Presbytery, and be perswaded they shall have fairer Quarter under them than under Episcopacy : for this purpose ('tis known) our small Engineer turned City-Merchant ; and having driven a fine Trade in the Winter 75. in the Great Corporation, he hath the following Summers been laying a Train in the lesser Corporations, in hope to blow up this Parliament with the noise of a new one.

The Prologue to the Tragedy must be, *Down with the Bishops* ; this is determined to be the only necessary Preliminary. But that (thinks he, and the whole Knot) is not to be brought about while this Parliament sits : *Ergo*, the only way is, to be rid of this Parliament as soon as may be, and shuffle our Pack as well as we can, to get sure Cards for a new one, to play over again the old pranks of their Brethren. This drift of theirs is so well understood by his Majesty, and by all Persons of Discretion and Loyalty, that although the Succession of Parliaments be a thing most commendable, yet no sober Person, that is well-affected to his Majesty, and the Peace of these Kingdoms, can approve the bringing on a new Parliament by *Seditious Projectors*, and *Popular Clamours* ; especially at such a time as this, when we have a Parliament in being ; a Parliament which hath had the honour to Re-settle the Crown and Kingdom, after it had, by a wonderful hand of God, been but newly rescued out of the Ruines of a late Rebellion : a Parliament that hath done perhaps more for the Preservation of this well-temper'd Monarchy, than many other of the best Parliaments put together ever did before : And I may boldly say, because it can be proved by instances of fact, that they have done more towards the conteining of Monarchick Power in its just Bounds, than any Parliament ever did, that may be counted to have been the most popular and publick-hearted : And besides this, the *Journals* of both Houses will shew, that they have now lying before them so many excellent Resolves and Purposes, that their sitting to dispatch them, is the only necessary means to put the Nation into the enjoyment of quick Remedies, for our future safety and prosperity. And whereas it hath fallen out, that they have been unable to do any thing to purpose, by reason of differences betwixt both Houses, you are to know (ye Men of Shaftesbury) that the occasions of that Discord about points of Privilege, and other Matters, were but Artificial Contrivances of some *Broken States-Men*, and other *Male-contents* ; made such by their own ill Humors, and Emulations against Men, whose Abilities, Integrity, and Merits have gotten Place above them in his Majesties Favour and Preferment. Those are they that would mingle Heaven and Earth, to create a party to keep those Differences on foot ; and therefore the occasions are by them made much of, and carefully laid up, that they may be readily started when time serves, to hinder dispatches of the Publick Business of the King and Kingdom ; because the design of the Confederates is thus laid :

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First, By Tricks to reduce this Parliament, as fast as they can, into a state impracticable and unserviceable, thereby to introduce a seeming Necessity of a speedy calling another.

Secondly, To make sure Work, they have stricken in with the Old Workmen, and adopted the presbyterian Party, the only Canker that frets in the Bowels of this Nation, and which gathers all other naughty Humors to it self; in hope to aggrandise a Faction, big enough and loud enough, to uproar a new Parliament for their Turn, if it may be: One main Plot is so to order it, that this Parliament, who apprehend a necessity of holding fast, in a Factious Time, to that part of the Government called *Bishops*, as the most needful expedient to preserve the Crown, may never go off with the reputation of speaking Peace and Settlement to the Nation, by perfecting those excellent Intendments and Resolutions, which, to that end, do lie before them. By this we may perceive, why your *Letter-man* seeks to destroy the credit of the *Bishops*, as well as of the Parliament. Whatever hath been done, still the *Bishops* must be in fault, though it be an act of the whole Parliament, and the wisest act that can be enacted.

And such, without all question, was that Act about *Corporations*. For, of what Temper the Corporations of *England* were, may be collected from the time of the late *Richard's* short Reign, When those Notorious Addresses were by them made to him in Lofty Strains of Recognition, Obedience, and Allegiance; which was but a few Moneths before his Majesties Wonderful Restitution. And therefore, though it was miraculous, it was not to be supposed so great a miracle, as in an instant to transform the hearts and spirits of such Addressers, into a firm and lasting Frame of Fidelity to the King and his Government: What then could the Parliament do less for the securing of both, than put Corporation-Men under the Test of such an Oath and Declaration, as might either satisfie his Majesty, that those persons were become New Men; or else might, upon their refusal of that Test, give the King a just occasion, for his own and his peoples security and peace, to purge them out of their places, and put in persons loyal and faithful. Moreover, 'tis to be noted, that this Test upon Corporations was by that Act, to continue but to the Year 1663; as short a time as could be set for the doing so great a Work, as to put things in order, to go on upon a right wheel of Government in those places for the future; after which they were left to proceed in the ordinary wayes of Electing their Magistrates and Officers as heretofore.

This is nothing but what in prudence and providence was absolutely necessary. And the use of it hereafter may be this to all Corporations; That in all occasions, be it of electing Magistrates, Officers, Parliament-men, and doing any thing of Concern to Government, they do carry themselves in such a manner (it being indeed their true Interest so to do) as not to suffer Factions or particular factious and ill-affected persons, to grow up and get ground among them; for the natural Consequence must be, that at length, if such confiderable Corporated parcels of the Body Politick shall by degrees be corrupted with Men, who, by contracting particular interests, shall march counter to the publick interest of Government, and imploy the Interests and Credit of their Corporations against it; then of course Princes and Parliaments are constrained, whether they will or no', to provide for a securing the Publick Interest by some extraordinary course: And when they do it, 'tis not their fault that the usual course is broken; but they properly are the Authors, who by their own Extravagancies first gave the occasion, and pressed a necessity upon them so to do. And truly, in such case, the best-natured Princes in the World, if you consider them as *Publick Persons*, cannot avoid it, unless you will suppose what is absurd to conceive, that they will relinquish the ends of Government, and let all run into confusion.

So much for the Reason of the Act about *Regulating Corporations*. Now for the next Act about the *Militia* complained of.

LETTER.

L E T T E R.

8. **T**HE next Step was in the Act of the Militia, which went for most of the chiefeſt Nobility and Gentry, being obliged as Lords Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, &c. to ſwear to the ſame Declaration and Belief, with the addition only of theſe words, In purſuance of ſuch Military Commissions. This Act is of a piece; for it Establisheth a ſtanding Army by a Law, and ſwears us into a Military Government.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

HOW the intent of this Act for ordering the *Militia* can be wrested to the ſence of a ſtanding Army, is a Construction paſt all understanding: But the blame of this alſo is laid upon the Bishops: It muſt be ſaid to be their Buſineſſ, though of all Men none are more remote from the Concern of it. And as little reaſon alſo there is, to perſuade Men it Establishes a ſtanding Army, or Military Government. It is indeed a conſtant Force: but in whose hands? Is it not in the hands of the Nobility and Gentry, the Persons of the greateſt Interreſt, and conſequently moſt concerned in the Maintenance of Civil Government and Laws, Liberty and Property? In ſo much, that we may well believe the men will cut their own throats, as betray either: And Arms truſted in the hands of Men moſt intereſted by their own Concerns for Universal Good, are as contrary to the nature of a meer Mercenary Army, (for, that he means by ſtanding Army) as Fire is to Water; ſo that the one, in the very notion, as well as nature of it, is preventive, and privative or excluſive of the other. And in the midſt of all the idle Noiſes, that we have had theſe late years, about a deſign of a ſtanding Army, nothing was a greater ſtay to sober Mens Minds, than this Conſideration, That as we have a King of no By-deſigns and Intrigues, one that loves his People; wise, and conſiſtient of his Nobility and Gentry; ſo he knows he cannot need Forces to maintain his Government, aſlong as they have the Power by Law to raife them for him: Nor can there be the leaſt ground for Male-contents to ſow Reports of this kind, unleſs wicked deſigns of their own againſt the Government, ſhall prompt them to new Commotions; and then indeed they may have reaſon to fear an Army, and cry out againſt it before it is in being; because they take mutinous courses to force it on us.

But another fault here found in the *Militia-Act*, is, that the *Lords Lieutenants & Deputy-Lieutenants*, are obliged by Oath to declare againſt this Traiterous Poſition of taking Armes againſt the King; and that Armes may be taken by His Authority againſt His Person, or againſt thoſe that are Commissioned by Him, &c. Doubtless, this Proviſion in that Act is a point grounded upon High-Reaſon: For, that Poſition and the Covenanit, were two Vipers that crawled into the world out of the bowels of Presbytery: And out of the bowels of thoſe two, crawled all thoſe Monſtrous Treasons which afterwards were practiſed. As to the firſt of them, not *Mariana* himſelf, nor all the curiouſ Preachers of the Mystery of King-killing among the *Jesuits*, ever invented a more nice and ſerviceable diſtincſion; ſo to ſplit a hair, in point of Allegiance, betwixt the Person of a King and His Authority, that the Subjects might be brought to understand, how to kill the Man, and not hurt the Authority; or, (which is all one) how to deſtroy a King, and Juſtifie the Faſt, by His own Authority. The fine ſpinning of ſuch Politicks, exceeds all that ever was done by all the fine Spinners in *Logick* or *Metaphyſicks*, and 'tis ſo fine a Folly, that it would crack an honest man's brains to conſider it, or puzzle a wise man how to diſtinguiſh it from groſſe Nonsense in Politie. And yet when it ſhall be told to our Poſteſty, what a world of people ſuch a phantaſtik Notion as this, drew in to ſide with a piece of a Parliament againſt the whole, and againſt their King too, under the Notion of being for Him and for his Parliament, I am perſuaded it will to them be almoſt in credible: And therefore, it was high wiſdom for the Parliament, to provide in this Act of ordering the *Militia*,

litia, that the Armes of the Nation might never come into the hands of such *High-Notional Politians* in time to come; who, when Arms were in their hands heretofore, sufficiently tutor'd us in the Arts and Effects of *Military Government*: And ye may remember (my good Friends of *Shaftsbury*) this *Letter-man*, your own Countryman, had a fair share in that *Military Government*, & knows the ready road to conduct you to a New One; only (it seems) another Parliament is wanting for the purpose, to make this King a *Glorious King* too; as not long since it was written to my Lord of *Carlisle*: little (I believe) to his Lordships content or approbation.

As to that Second Viper the *C O V E N A N T, Eerna Malorum*! From whence sprang *Hydra*, infesting the three Kingdoms, till she returned into the *Lake of Fire and Brimstone*, there to stare in the Faces, or rather Consciences of its own Authors and Proselytes? It came on in *Nomine Domini*; but whether in the *Deel's name* more properly, time did tri. For, this confirm'd all the miseries that were begun, and became, as it were, the *Broad Seal* of the Decree of Gods Judgments upon these Nations. That *Solemn League & Covenant* came on indeed with Great Solemnity of pious Pretence, of maintaining us in our former Obligations of Allegiance to the King, and his Government, and the Security of Religion by Reformation; and by this fair fraud, I am perswaded it was, that abundance of men, Consciencious, but unwary, swallowed the Hook, and were caught; not dreaming what ought to be consider'd; for then they might have found under this *Fine Lid*, there was *Death in the Pot*; seeing it had been formed, and imposed, only by Fellow-Subjects, without and against the Will of the King; for which reason it was indirect, and illegal; and so great a stranger to the Right Reformed Protestant Profession, that Subjects should presume, by *Covenanting*, with Fire and Sword, to force on a *Reformation*; that we can find no example for it but out of the *Records of Presbytery*: Nor is there any thing in those of *Popery* to be compared with it, but only that *Holy League*, which engaged *France* into many years of Blood and Misery, before it could be extinguished.

They might also, had they wisdom enough and experience, have considered what was then in the heart and foresight of his Majesties Father, as we find it expressed in His Writings; than the insertion of which in this Place, nothing can be more to the purpose, or more seasonable; especially in a time, wherein many of the *Old Kindlers* are visibly blowing this *Old Coal* again, to revive it; and with it to overheat the Brains and Consciences of men, into a zeal of the same Obligation, in stead of repentance that ever they tooke it. But heare what the King said of it, and 'tis enough to forewarn and advise men of any Conscience, or discretion, in the future: [That (saith he) which makes such *Confederations by way of Solemn Leagues and Covenants*, the more to be suspected, is, That they are the common Road, used in all *Factions Perturbations of State or Church*: where Formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more studied and elaborate, than when Politicians agitate most desperate designs against all that is settled, or sacred in Religion and Laws; which, by such skrues, are cunningly, yet forcibly wrested by secret steps, and less sensible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humors of those men, who aime to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of *Holy Combinations*.] Wisdom and Truth greater than this, or more Divine, never was uttered by any Prince since the dayes of *Solomon*: And it ought to be for ever written in the hearts of Subjects; because we can seal to it, upon the sad experience we had in our late *Civil-Wars*, to the utter ruine of all Religious Profession, which men ought to take care by sincerity, and integrity of life, to hold up in the height of Reputation, as the most Sacred thing in the World.

Otherwise, what we may expect of the pretences and disguises of the most Sanctimonious Combinations, the same King tells us, in the following words; [They are *Cords and wyths* will hold mens Consciences no longer than force attends and twi its thair: for, every man soon grows his own *Pope*, and easily absolves himself of those Ties, which net the command of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, bnt only the subtily and terror of a Party casts

casts upon him. Indeed, such illegal wayes, seldom, or never, intend the ingaging of men more to duties, but only to Parties: therefore tis not regarded, how they keep their Covenants in point of Piety pretended, Provided they adhere firmly to the Party and design intended. The Imposers of such a League will admit of any mens sences of it, though divers or contrary, with any Salvoes, Cautions, and Reservations, so as they cross not the chief design against the Church and their King.] There are many Thousands yet living, who can witness to the truth of it; that they had no sooner involved the several Parliamentary Parties in the guilt of that Covenant, but they all fastened several Sences and Constructions upon it; such as might best suit with the several ends and designs of their particular Parties. They, like Samson's Foxes, had their heads looking divers wayes, but were tied together by the Tails; had one common Interest which tied them fast to each other in Agreement, for the destruction of King and Bishops. They easily absolved one another, and each man himself, from the seeming obligations of the Covenant to Loyalty and Government, as fast as their particular occasions called them off to other Resolutions. And if we may believe Sir Henry Vane, it was in the penning so worded, that the Noose might not be too strict and narrow, for Conscience to escape out of it, when occasion should require. For, when that Gentleman came to Tower-hill to die, he told us to this purpose, that himself had been one of the Commissioners that went out of England into Scotland, and was present there in those Counsels then on foot betwixt both Kingdome, which contrived that Covenant. And when it was objected by some, that if the Termes of the Covenant should run so high, for preservation of the King and His Family, as they seemed to be, the King perhaps might notwithstanding be utterly hardened against it, and frustrate all the good intents of it towards himself; And in such case, it was propounded in Council, what then should be done? At last, it was concluded, an Addition should be made to it of that ominous Clause [*In the preservation and defence of the Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms.*] A Clause which was made use of afterwards, to prove, that the Nation might be established in a Government, without any regard to the King or His Family.

For manifestation of this Truth, there needs no more, but to cast an eye back upon that fatal Remonstrance of the Army, dated at St. Albans, 20th November, 1648. penned by Ireton, Cromwell's Son-in-law; the main scope whereof was, to prove, That they ought to take away the Kings Life, with a pretence and form of Justice, and extirpate His Family. And truly, I have the greater cause to remember this, having at that time read the Arguments contained in several Prints against it, to manifest unto the Authors of such Counsels, and all the World, that such a Course of proceeding against the King of England is Irrational, Monstruous, and in consequence pernicious to the three Kingdoms. Nevertheless the Argumentation of Colonel Ireton carried it: And whosoever pleases to consult the Contents of that Army-Remonstrance, shall find, that the best Arguments he had (except the Sword) were all fished out of several Topicks contained in the Covenant; among which, the main one fetcched from that afore-cited Clause, was like the Sword of Goliath, none like it, to cut asunder all Obligations both Sacred and Civil; and was improved to this point, That seeing these Nations were brought to such a passe (as the Argumentator was pleased to say) That the ends of the Covenant could not be attained by a Government with the King and His Family: Therefore, those ends, being the principal Considerations of Mens Covenanting, ought to be made good by another Government, without any regard of Him or His, who were but of a Secondary Consideration. And thus, out of the Belly of that Trojan Horse the Covenant, sprang that Hobby-horse of a Re-publick, with Cromwell on the back of it; who himself at length, convinced in Judgment about forms of Government, saw and confessed, by making himself the sole single person in Authority; that no Rest is to be had by Government in this Nation, but by a Monarchy.

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After this (my good Friends of Shaftesbury) I suppose you will not venture to gainsay, but that it was well done of the Parliament, (and Bishops too, since you will have them nam'd in particular) to passe two such *Acts*, as might keep men out of Magistracy in Corporations, and out of Command in the King's *Militia*; whose Consciences can yet relish, and not abhor such a *Covenant*, or such a Treasonous Maxim in State, *That the King's Authority may be made use of, or turn'd against his Person*. And yet anon, before the end of this Letter, the Author will tell you of very strong Instances and Cases Some-body cited in the House of Peers; wherein it was, and may be lawful again so to do. Which confirm's the King's good fortune, and the Kingdoms too, in being rid of such a *Squirrel* out of Power, that can crack the points of *Conscience*, *Party*, and *Politicks*, as fast as Nuts, to satisfie his own Ambitious, and hungry Inclination.

The third *Act* that he finds fault with, is the *Act of uniformity*: Of this he discourses as followeth.

L E T T E R.

THAT the Clergy of England are obliged to subscribe and declare, as the Corporations, Nobility, and Gentry did swear before.

That the Clergy readily complied with it, being a sort of Men taught rather to obey than understand; and to use that Learning they have, to justifie, not to examine what their Superiors command.

That Bartholomew-day was fatal to our Church and Religion, in throwing out a very great number of Worthy, Learned, Pious and Orthodox Divines.

That the time set for them to subscribe to the Book of Common-Prayer, Established by this *Act of Uniformity*, was so short for the Printing and Publishing of it, that one Man in Forty could not see that Book, which he was to assent and consent unto.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

AS for time to peruse the *Alterations* and *Additions* then made in the *Common-Prayer-Book*, they had a fair space to consider, after the Printing and Publication of it, which was till Bartholomew-day. For the principal Divines of the *Nonconforming Party* sat in Commission with the Bishops; so that what *Alterations* or *Additions* soever were made, it is known they took such care to communicate them abroad, that it may be remembred how all their Party talkt of every particular in the City, and all over the Kingdom; and had been carefully fixed in resolution to find fault with every thing, long before the Printing: and never to conform to it. Besides, the *Reasons* offer'd for *Alterations* or *Additions*, desired by those *Leading Men*, were so little considerable, that there were but a very small number agreed on; so that a tenth part of the time that passed betwixt its Publication and Bartholomew-day, might have served them all sufficiently to consider of it, had they been then to consider: but alas! they had been abundantly schooled by Letters before, and by Prints too, sent from their *London-Tutors*, to be perfect in that old Lesson, against all Reason or Moderation, *Non persuadetis etiam si persuaseris*. So that if our *Letter-Man* had pleased, he might have spared this Objection about want of time; but he had undertaken to heap what faults he could upon the Bishops, right or wrong. They must be accused, though it was the Parliament that set the time: This suits with the rest of his design, as I told you.

But then, a very great number of good and brave Divines were thrown out. Thus he phrases it, whereas indeed they threw themselves out; They were (it may be) a sort of Divines of *Conscience*, but whether mis-informed and erroneous, it will concern them to see, against the great Day of Account; or whether any thing of Spiritual

tual Pride, Singularity, Interest, or Self-reputation with a Party, or shame of receding from former mistaken Zeal, Doctrines, Engagements, and ways of getting a Livelihood; which of these Considerations might intervene, betwixt the Day of Publication and Bartholomew-day, God alone knows, and will one Day judge; who is a God of Order, and not of Confusion, as in all the Churches.

However, it conceraed the Parliament to fear the worst, knowing what Doctrines those Men had preached many Years before, and what had been their behaviour; and therefore to bar the Church-doors against the like Humours in time to come, that they might no more climb up into the Publick Pulpits, to perplex Affairs of the Church; or by mis-leading people with shews of Zeal, cause new Inflammations in the State: In both which points of Activity, had not our *Letter-Man* very great occasion to use them at present, he would not now have been so angry at their being kept out.

What those *Worthy, Learned, Pious and Orthodox Divines* were, or still are, I am tied up by the *Act of Oblivion* from telling; which Act ought to be punctually observed as sacred, by wise Men and good Christians, that persons who have formerly erred against His Majesty, either in Matters of State or Church, may not be frightened into new Crimes for security, or from making open profession of repentance for the old. Christ saith, *There is more joy in heaven over one Sinner that repents, than over ninety and nine that never went astray.* Therefore, it will be more proper to paint out those Divines by probable signs of what we are to expect from them in future, than by Animadverting upon their Actions past.

If any Divine will not declare his *unfeigned Assent and Consent to the Common-Prayer-Book*, which contains the Publick Service and Worship of the Church, what reason hath the Magistrate to allow him a part of the Publick Church-Maintenance, which is by Law annexed to that Service? Especially, seeing his refusal of *Assent and Consent* doth implicitly signify, that he will do all that ever he can, to instruct and persuade the people against it. Which of these two then is most fitting? either for the Magistrate to comply with them, or they with the Magistrate?

Moreover, If any Divine shall refuse to declare and swear, that he believes it *unlawful to take Arms against the King*; or by his *Authority against his Person*, or *against those that are Commissionated by him*: And that he believes there lyes no *Obligation upon him, or any other person, from the Solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any Alteration in Church or State*, and that it was an *unlawful Oath*; what can be supposed of such a Divine, but that he is capable of Earthly designs? And that he may be ready, when opportunity serves, to take Arms, and preach up again the old *Doctrine of Setting the Kings Authority against his Person*; and the *Covenant* to boot, to pull the Government of Church and State in pieces? Those two opposite Principles do *mutuo se pellere*; they cannot stand together, but the one naturally and absolutely drives out the other. Is it in reason then to be imagined, that any Prince or State, should have less wisdom and fore-sight than every ordinary Animal, to provide for Self-preservation, by Laws that may secure the Religion and Government Established, with Church-Livings also, in the hands of a Regular Conforming Clergy? Which Laws, there was high reason so to peir, that they might be as a *Test* for discovery, and disabling of Pastors, retaining Principles inconsistent with Monarchy. Let the same Men but turn the Tables, and remember what themselves did heretofore to the *Episcopal Clergy*, for not engaging and conforming to their wild Phantasies, upon every Revolution of Government; and then let them and all Men consider, with what front any Man of them can condemn this Wise and Provident Act, made against the possibility of a Return of the like Confusions in this Kingdom hereafter, to purge out such *Worthy, Pious, but not too Learned Divines*, I pray you; Men (it seems) of a narrower Swallow now, for an Oath, than

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the Nobility and Gentry ; yet at their own time they have been able , and , while they retain such Principles , can be again when time serves , to swallow all manner of Oaths , and devour Nobles , Gentlemen too , Clergy , and All . And this our Letter-Man knows very well : who , having at this time great need of them in the Pulpit , is (you see) very angry they are under hatches . He only wants such a House of Commons as he could wish ; for , he reckons himself sure of his Clergy ; they are of another Kidney than the Church of England 's Clergy : These he is pleased to brand as Men of little Understanding , and of a pitiful sort of Learning , which teaches to *Obey and Justifie* , not to *Dispute the Commands of their Superiours* . Meer Milk-Sops they ; but his are the *Myrmidons* ; Men of Arguments as strong as Gun-Powder ; Profound Men of Letters , who have written , and can write , *RATIO ULTIMA KERUM* round the Mouth of a Canon .

LETTER.

The fourth and last Act found fault with is , *The Five Miles Act* passed at Oxford , which introduces the Oath in the Terms the Courtiers would have it . This was then strongly opposed by the Lord Treasurer Southampton , Lord Wharton , Lord Ashley , and others ; not only in the concern of those poor Ministers that were so severely handled , but as it was in it self an unlawful and unjustifiable Oath : however , the Zeal of that time against all Non-conformists easily passed the Act .

ANIMADVERSIO.

THAT my Lord Wharton , and Lord Ashley might oppose it , is not impossible ; but of my Lord Southampton 'tis hardly probable ; but if he did , it serves for some excuse to Lord Ashley ; because his Lordships Interest , at that early time of day , was nothing in Court without him , and so he could lose nothing there then : For , it was afterwards that he crept up like Ivy upon that Old Oak of Loyalty Southampton , into his Majesties favour , and many a good place ; which while his Lordship enjoyed , we do not remember that ever he was angry at this Act : Nor do we know any reason why it might not have been stretcht (at that time) a Mile or two more , without grieving his Lordship , or stretching his Conscience : so that this Story might have been very well omitted , so far as concerns my good Lord Ashley .

If the Ministers were then so severely handled , let it be noted , that now is the time his Lordship would be thought to have had no hand in it . But whose fault was it then ? was it not their own ? were they not very severe towards the King , when they refused the Oath contained in that Act , which enjoyned only these particulars ? viz . to declare ,

That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever , to take Arms against the King .

That they do abhor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person , or against those that are Commissionated by him , in pursuance of such Commissions .

And that they will not , at any time , endeavour any Alteration of Government , either in church or State .

Now let us reason together ; Is it rational to imagine , that any Governor will not provide for the safety and peace of his Government ? Are not Protection and Allegiance correlative ? Do they not *mutuo se ponere* , can either be understood without the other ? Is not the Band of Politicks utterly broken by conceiving the contrary ? If a Subject will not declare it *not lawful to take Arms against the King* , is there not a clear implication of the *Affirmative* , that he may , or perhaps will , when he shall have an opportunity ? Is it imaginable then , that any King can think himself secure of such a Man ? or that he could permit him to enjoy the common Liberties of his Government ,

who refuseth to give the common Caution required by Governours for the peace of Government? Or if such Person have formerly by any Overt Acts declared, or preached to others, that it is lawful to take Arms, can he with any colour of reason find fault with the King, when he demands only gentle Caution of him, by declaring that he hath alter'd his Opinion, and will do so no more? And in case of his refusal, can he in his Conscience condemn the Kings making a Law, to prevent him from doing the like again? Come Gentlemen, let us to the great Rule of Conscience, *Whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, do ye so to them: for this is the Law and the Prophets.* Now pray tell me, you that are Kings of those little Kingdoms called Families; If any one of your Children, or Servants, hath taught or shall teach the rest, that it is lawful to dispute and fight with you (and perhaps they do it) in your Houses, would you not think it strange, that any Man should blame you, if you, not punishing that Child or Servant, should only demand this gentle Caution of him; that he oblige himself never to do the like again? It's much rather to be supposed, that in stead of that, you would turn him out of your little Kingdom, and no Man could find fault with you for it. Now for Inference, If His Majesty, a Prince Gracious and Indulgent beyond all example, hath laid aside the severe part; and if you, by your refusing to give him the Security of a *Promissory Oath*, have in effect declared that you will not lay aside or quit that unruly Principle of taking Arms against him, what could he do lesse, than to take the Viper out of his own and the Churches Bosom, and not nourish it any longer? Whereas by the Laws of God and Man, and by that Law of Nature called *Self-preservation*, he might have taken another kind of Course, for the Security and Quiet of Himself and His Subjects; and not only have shut these men out of Corporations, but out of the Kingdom. And yet so far hath His Majesty been from this severity, that the *Five Miles Act* it self hath languisht with very little Execution: insomuch that those men and their Freinds, have, at this time of day, small cause to complain of it: but rather much, for a heart-melting into grateful acknowledgments of so great Lenity.

If another Pen had been busied in this Work of Animadverting, it might perhaps have dropt here many notable *Reasons of State*, justifying the policy and prudence of that Act, and its execution; as to name one for an Instance, *viz.* Seeing that, by the constitution of this Kingdom, the Commons House of Parliament have an Interest in the *Power of Legislation*, that no Law can be made, or repealed without them: And, whereas the Major part of their Members are chosen by Corporations, it must needs be of highest concern to preserve those Bodies Corporate, as free as may be, from the infection of Preachers of such *Principles*, as are destructive of the Kingdoms Constitution and Government, lest in a little time the swarming *Proselytes of Nonconformity* come to bear away the Bell at Elections, and then Trump a Major Vote in the Commons House, to play a New Game again at *The Old Sport*. For (like bold Knaves as they be) they are cock-sure (they say) of Lords enough already. And, its said, 'tis one of you, ye Men of *Shaftsbury*, that took care to Print the Names of their Lordships, for the honor of the Business: particularly, the Name of the Good Earl of *Shaftsbury*, with special Commendations of Great Pains, Long Speeches, and Extraordinary Honest Qualities, which our Letter-man hath taken care, in the next Paragraph, more largely to set forth to the best advantage.

L E T T E R.

THus our Church became Triumphant divers years, the Dissenting Protestants being the only Enemy, while the Papists remain'd undisturb'd, were thought Loyal by the Court, and by our Great Bishops not dangerous, &c.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

Recollect ye the things of time past , and you may remember , it was a saying as old as the Reformation it self , That the Church of England was like Christ himself , Crucified betwixt two Thieves , the Papists and the Presbyterian : and , Is it otherwise at this day ? for , in stead of a Triumph after His Majesties happy Restitution , for all Her past Sufferings , Behold ! how both the sorts of Adversaries are plying their Separate Interests ; agreeing only in this , How to Plot Her Destruction ; the Natural Consequent whereof must be this , That , after Her ruine , the Papists stands ready to Subject the Monarch to a Single Pope : the other , to Subvert the Monarchy , by Inthroning here a Many-Headed Papacie . The one would Rob the KING of Half His Power : the other , of the Whole . Both will allow of a King , so He be nothing ; that is , as long as he pleases them ; If not they have a whip and a Bell , to Correct or Depose Him : of which our Histories are full . So that if the CHURCH be not Maintained over them both , to Defeat their Designs of Supplanting Her , tell us then , with all your wisdom , ye men of Shaftsbury , what will become of us ? and , What the end of these things will be ?

L E T T E R.

The next Paragraph of this Letter tells us a long Romantick Story of a Giant and the Earl of Shaftsbury . The Giant (be saith) was my Lord Clifford ; a man of a daring and ambitious spirit ; but that the Earl of Shaftsbury was as daring , but more able : (some think he did not well to leave out the word more Ambitious too .)

*That he was of Principles and Interests diametrically opposite to Clifford, yet presently clos-
ed with him, in proposing the Declaration for Indulgence to Dissenters in Religion.*

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

Since the Earl of Shaftsbury is named , Oh ! What an occasion is here for a Comment ? Thus it goes likewise in all other Romances : the small Knight , or the Squire , always appears an abler man than the Giant , and is sure to get the better . And , 'tis but Reason it should be so , at this time especially ; because in the 9th Page of the Printed Letter , are these words also : That the Earl of Shaftsbury is a man of great Abilities , and knowledge in Affairs ; and one , that , in all the variety of Changes of this last Age , was never known to be either bought , or frightened out of his Publick Principles . It may be , the Penman of this Letter is some pleasant person , of little acquaintance with his Lordship ; or , he Dreamt all the world to be made of Oat-meale , or to have been in a Dream these Thirty years : And , so we may , if we please , Dream on , That his Lordship is no Changeling . Would that had been true (quoth the Presbyterian) for , once he became ours . But , (said a certain Presbyter) let me tell you a Story ; and first , I say , he is a Knave that thinks I mean it of his Lordship . Once upon a time (as I remember) the Old King had a Dorsetshire-Eel by the Tail ; which then slipt into the hands of our Party : And when we thought our selves sure of him , whip , he was gone , and , in a Trice , Commenced a Brother Independent : which was a wise part ; and no trick of a Changeling , to shift Principles like shirts ; and quit an unlucky Side , in a fright at the noise of a New Prevailing Party ; with whom he staid , till he grew up to the size of a Great Commonwealths-man , and made Hay in the Sun-shine , untill the Commonwealth and Cromwel were brought to bed of a strange new kind of Monarchy in the House of Commons ; a Three or four hundred-headed Monarchy , called , The Fifth-Monarchy ; and in those days it was also called , Cromwells Little Parliament ; in which his little Lordship became one of the Princes among a drove

of Changelings. But there, having spied out Cromwell's purpose of Marching to another sort of Monarchy of his own, his little Lordship then resolved, like a constant steady man to his own main Point, to Trepan them, and to strike in with him; and lent him a helping hand towards the confounding of Fifth-Monarchy, to make way for a New One under the Name Protector. Then, in this Scene of Affairs, he being made a Protectorian Privy-Counsellor; and, after a while, he aspiring also to become the Protector's Son-in-Law; Cromwel (who well enough understood him) either disdaining, or not daring to tak² him so near into his bosome, took occasion also to be quit of him out of his Council: So that now it was high time indeed, of necessity, to turn back to the OLD HONEST POINT of the C O M P A S S, and get in again to be thought a New Man of His Majesties Party. This was no hard matter, to be done by a man of his dapper Conscience, and dexterity, that can Dance through a Hoop; or that can be a Tumbler through Parties; or a small Teazer of Religions, and Trouzer of Factions; a Pettifogger of Politicks; the very Windmill and weather-cock of every GODLY PARTY: He, even he, turned again to the Tents of the wicked. For, to go on with my Story (quoth the Presbyter) no sooner had Cromwell done his do with him, and jested him; and, like a true Intrigue-Master, out-done him, and spued him out; but being thrown o'reboard out of Two New Monarchies, he immediately tacked, and got ashore again on the skirts of the King's old Monarchy; that is, he ran in as near as he could at that time; and, for his own sake, resolved to be as true as he could for it, by imbarkeing in a new Kindred of the Royal Party, seeing he could not catch the Cromwellian. To make short my Tale, Sir, he matcht himself then into a Noble Family (one of those that in the late Troubles, had best deserved of His Majesty) with a Lady that was Niece to a late Noble Lord; who (as he well knew) had Merit-Royal enough, to answer for all the past faults of a small wandering Politico, and make him pass for a Royallist, if Royalty come in play again. In the meantime, being out of all publick Councils, he was at leisure to make Court to all private Male-contents against Oliver; and wherefover he found a sore, there he rub'd hardest, till the end of the reign of Richard, and of the Wallingsfordian Party: for, by this time the Rump was got in again; & then he got in again with the Rump; not into the House, but into the hearts of some of its principal Members and Actors, and became a busie man to decoy them into the reach of their own destiny. And now you have him thus far on his way, you may be so charitable, if you please, as to imagine, that all this variety of changes was meant by him, on purpose to bring about His Majesties Happy Restitution. Indeed one would think so, considering the Bounties he immediately after received from the hand of a most gracious King; Honors, Offices, Profits, and Pre-ferments; and these, in tract of time, advanced to the utmost magnitude, with many private Favours; so that if he was never bought out of his publick Principles, yet he was soundly paid for his private, though never satisfied; till at the old game of shifting Persons and Parties also at Court, he at length play'd himself quite out of Play: and ever since, in the Summer-time, you have him a Fox-hunting not far from Shaftesbury; in Winter, about London-City, to strike in with the herd of all Opinions, for hunting out old Principles in this Forest of Chimneys. And because we Presbyters are ready to start them, we pray he may have grace to pursue the chace, and never leave us in the lurch any more: And, that our Brother-Independents may be brought to forget, how he helpt to train some of them to the Gallows. May they leave off barking when he comes into the City; & not do as dogs do at a Pell-monger, when he passes through a Country-Town: For, even those poor Animals are more prudent, than to be at peace with any, whose Trade it hath been to hang and flea them. But let their mouths be stopt, and may he never serve us, as he served them. And may this Tale of mine never be told again to the rest of our Brethren: Nor this Eel be rosted, as the Rump was in the streets of London: For, truly it had never been told at all, if I thought any man could be so foolish and malitious, as to think my good Lord Shaftesbury is meant in any part of the Story. But, 'tis brought in here, only to shew how curiously Contraries do illustrate each other; and, what Eels and Serpents some men in the world will appear to be, if their qualities and conditions be compared with the Excellencies

cies of that noble Lord; who was never bought nor frightened, out of his Publick Principles ---- Thus far went the Presbyter with his Talc; and desired any man to match it in Chaucer or Boccace. No wonder then if his Lordship went beyond my Lord Clifford. And, the less are we to wonder at all the great things said of my Lord Shaftesbury in this *LETTER*, if it were true, which was said at several Coffee-houses, when it first came out in Print; That his Lordship was no stranger to its compilement; though 'tis written in the stile of some other person.

For, in the same Paragraph we are told, that when the War was to be made with Holland, the Lord Clifford advised the King to quiet all *Dissenters* in Religion at home, with granting the Declaration of *Indulgence*: & that the Earl of Shaftesbury, though a man of principles and interest opposite to the other, presently closed with his Advice. But, he doth not tell us the Reason, why the Earl became hot for *Indulgence*: you are to know, it was then a time of day, that his Lordship had worn out his little Interest in *Episcopacy*, and all affection for it; and saw also, that many at Court began to be sick of him; so that it was high time, perceiving an uncertainty of his Court-Station, to provide himself a Retreat into some *Popular Faction*. He had long done it before, for fear he might in an ill day have need of them; therefore ever and anon the sprinklings of his *Court-holy-water* were bestowed upon many of the *good people*; and some small good Offices he did for them, that the rest of the Persecuted might know where to find a Patron; So that wth the one hand he swept away as many Court-advantages out of the Publick, and was as deep in as any man; with the other hand he upheld a Stock, going with the Pious Party.

Lucribus odor

Ex re qualibet.

God himself made the *World of Discordia Semina Rerum*; Why then may not men thus build their Fortunes? but he never lov'd *Linsey-Wolsey* to be worn by his Loyal Subjects; nor ever liked, that men should thus reconcile *Christ* and *Belial*, so as to make their Markets of them both together: yet this was the constant Trade since the Kings Restitution. Nor is his Lordship without Example and Precedent for it; it having been practised by the old Earle of *Leicester*, and other Courtiers in the dayes of Q. *Elizabeth*, King *James*, &c. And many times, old fashions will up again among ingenious Tailors, who alwayes take their measures in every employment. There is Gospel too for this, thus did the *unjust steward* provide, in case he should be turned out of his Stewardship: Wisely then did his Lordship, to feather himself among the *Men of the world* so long beforehand, that when the time should be over, and the Chancellorship be rendred, he, might, with a sure friend, *Mammon*, be any where wellcome, and have all deeds forgotten which were done in darkness; being next to begin the *World* again, by setting up anew among the *children of Light*, the Old Trade of crying out *Popery* and *Priests*, *Bishops*, *Evil Councillors*, and *Grievances*; and, Now also, *No Parliament*: but a *New One* (as like the *Old One* as may be) can do the *BUSINESS* of his Lordship and the Nation. There is no remedy to be thought on but one, and that is a very pleasant one: *Call back my Lord to Court*; then all will do well again, and he will save me the labor of telling the whole *Intrigue* of his Matters. *Call back my Lord Clifford* too, and his Lordship shall never more quarrel him about *Indulgence*, *Popery*, *Parliament*, or any thing else: Yea, & he shall ask him pardon too for so artificially contriving that fine *Fiction* or *Scene of Discourses*, supposed to have been spoken concerning himself and Lord *Clifford* when alive but framed to scandalize him, after his death, not sparing reflections even upon His Majesty also himself and His affair, that so he might, by using the *Stile* of a *Third person*, act an ostentation of his own being the only *Sates-man*, that took care of *Indulgence*, *Trade*, *Religion*, *Kingdom* and *All*; as you may find at large in the 4th and 5th pages of this *LETTER*. But you have been already shewn, how long it was before his Lordships *Zeal* brake forth with so bright a flame, and what the end of it may be; even an *universal*

versal Inflammation, if the New practising of the old Delusions be not prevented.

But because here hath been mention often made of my Lord *Clifford*, with intent of disadvantage to his memory, therefore, ere I dismiss this part of the *LETTER*, it cannot be amiss to shew you a better Picture of him, as it was drawn also by the lucky hand of the Good Earl of *Shaftsbury*, but it was in a time when his Lordship had a Being in *whitehall*, & was willing to Court him that was his Rival in the Treasury, rather than not hold on his new Office of Chancellor: The precise time was, when his Lordship gave the Lord *Clifford* the Oath of Lord Treasurer in the Exchequer-Chamber, 5. Decemb. 1672. where, in his Speech, he began with my Lord *Clifford's* Integrity, Ability, and experience in Affairs; and that therefore the King had chosen him to be His Lord Treasurer: *A Place that requires such a man, as our Great Master's Wisdom found for it; from whose Natural Temper we may expect Courage, Quickness, and Resolution; from whose Education, wisdom and Experience, and from whose Extraction, that Noble and Illustrious House of the *Cliffords*, an Heroick Mind, a Large Soul, and an unshaken Fidelity to the Crown.* And when he comes to conclude, he adds to him these words: [*I wish, or rather prophesie, your exceeding all your Predecessors in this Place; The Abilities and Fidelity of the Renowned Lord Burleigh; The Sagacity, Quickness, and great Dispatch of his Son the Lord Salisbury; and the uprightness, Integrity, and wisdom, of that great Man that went last before you, the Earl of Southampton.*]

Now, Gentlemen, you that are Friends of Lord *Shaftsbury*, if you have any care of his Reputation, advise him to desire the Printer to blot out all the Characters of my Lord *Clifford*, in the Second Edition of this *LETTER*, and put in these: or at least for his Lordships Sake, have not so hard an opinion of *Clifford*: or else be pleased to do my Lord *Clifford* and your selves this Right, as to suspend your opinion of this *Lord*, till you are sure it can be a good one. But if then you find no cause to believe all the Outcries which were at the time of *Clifford's* Fall, hold on still, if you can, the humour of believing all the other Devices of his little *Lordship*; till he at length serve you, as he hath served all the rest of his Believers.

LETTER.

The next Contents of the *Letter* are these, *Viz.*

That the Penner thereof wishes, *The Declaration for Indulgence might have had a longer continuance, and a better reception; But (faith he) the Bishops took offence at it.*

ANIMA DVERSIO N.

Any thing to lay load of Envy upon the *Bishops*: That is a main design of the *LETTER*. At that Corner of the Monarchy, its old Enemies are to make the new Offset: and then what follows? The Annals of the late Reign of *Presbytery* will tell you nothing but *Violent Persecution*. Not a word in those days of *Indulgence*; nay, not so much as to the *Brother-Independents*; whose true Interest it is as much as the *Episcoparians*, to preserve the present Government by *Episcopacy*: For, let the *Presbyter* up with his Throne again, and both the other will be alike exposed to his mercy. Suppose the worst you can of one *Bishop* in a County, yet past experience hath told us, we had better have him there than a mean upstart *Insulter* over both, to *play the Devil for Gods sake*, in every Parish. The rest of the *Dissenters* are therefore to consider, That as the *Episcoparian's* greatest *Jealousie* is at the *Presbyter*, because the Aims of them both being at a *National Form*, they cannot both stand together, but the one must of necessity deprive the other; so, forasmuch as all other *Nonconformers* lay no claime to a *Church-National*, but in *Spiritual Matters* seek only *Toleration* and *Indulgence*; They cannot, if they please to lay aside old animosities, give any *Ombrage* or *Jealousie* to the *Episcoparian*; because in their way of *Churching*, they design only a *private Rule* over one another. Their only Concern then is, by a total quitting of all *Intrigues*, or *correspondence in Counsels* with

with that false Brother the *Presbyter*, the natural common Enemy of their way of Chur-
ching, as well as of the *National*: which being cordially done in future, and all cause of
Jealousie, on their parts, being thereby removed from the *Governours*, there can be no
doubt but they may be induced, to allow them a *fair and lasting Indulgence*.

Moreover, it ought to be consider'd, though the *Bishops* be charged by our *Letter-
man* as the Undoers of the *Indulgent Declaration*; it was not They, but the *Parliament*
that undid it; it being by both *Houses* judged inconvenient to be continued, by reason it
was thought prejudicial to some *Laws* made for an *Uniformity* in *Matters of Publick Wor-
ship*, and consequently an *intrenchment* upon *Law*: so that the *Parliament* was therein
led by *Reason of State*, when they besought his *Majesty* for the *cancelling* of it: the *Lords
Spiritual* were concerned in it no otherwise than the *Lords Temporal*; and it was, upon
the *Joint-Application* of both *Lords* and *Commons*, recalled. The *Inference* then which
I would offer at from these *Discourses*, is, That if those aforesaid *Dissenters* would by
Overt-Acts of *Behaviour* in future, make it evident to the *Parliament*, that they are in heart
alienated and departed from the *Presbyter*, the *great common Enemy of the Crown*, as well as
of the *Church*, 'tis not impossible (yea, perhaps not improbable) but that the same
Parliament may then come to see it *Reason of State* also, to finde out some *Expe-
dient* to make a difference; in execution of *Law*, betwixt *Them* and the *Irreconcilable
Presbyter*, notwithstanding the severity of *Laws* at present; especially if the *Houses* once see
cause given them to apprehend, That such *Dissenters* are resolved to become as *loyal*
and *serviceable* to his *Majesty* and the *Government* here, as *Dissenters* were heretofore in
France unto King *Henry the Fourth*.

And truly, seeing there is this difference betwixt the *ordinary Dissenters* and the
Presbyters; that the latter is *è directo* inconsistent with all *Monarchy*, because *Presbytery*
claims to be *underivative* from any *Secular Monarch*, and *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, doth
as it were *usurp* his *Power*: and seeing the former, while they seek only an *Indulgence*,
may well enough consist with our *English Monarchy*; there is no question but they may,
in due time, if they behave themselves wisely, obtain their desired *Liberty*. For, in the
very following *Lines* of the *L E T T E R*, our *Author* signifies, That at the next meeting
of the *Parliament*, the *Bishops* promoted the *Protestant Interest* so high, that an *Act* came up
from the *Commons* to the *House of Lords* in favour of the *dissenting Protestants*, and had passed
the *Lords* but for want of time. What hath been, may be: so that if the *ordinary Dissenters*
shall be so wise, as to mind their true *Interest*, which really lies in a hearty *complaisance*
with the *Interest* of the *Government*, the like may soon be done in favour of them again.

Next, he tells us, There was another *Act* then passed the *Royal Assent*, for the *excluding*
all Papists from Office; in the opposition of which, the *Lord Treasurer Clifford* fell: and yet to
prevent his *ruine*, this *Session* had the sooner end. As for the *Lord Clifford*, me thinks he
might before now have been left at rest in his *Grave*: but there is (it seems) another
Lord in the *World* is resolved he shall not; because while his *Lordship* tugg'd hard, and
lay gaping for the *Office of Lord Treasurer*, my *Lord Clifford* got between and carried it
away; for which he will never forgive his *memory*, nor any of his *Friends*. Nothing
could please after this; no not the *Great Seal* it self, though one would have thought that
enough to fill the *Swallow* of any *Gnat*. But Oh! the *Dear Bag* was gone, the *But-
end* of all his *hopes*, and so neither *Seal* nor *Purse* could satisfie! Nothing now but *Re-
venge*; for, then his *Lordship* saw plain the *Mortality* of his own *Court-Interest* drawing
on, which had been long before forfeited by many a *Juggie*. Then his *Piety* began to
work, when his *Covetousness* had nothing to work upon; and nothing after this could be
thought of, but *Fire and Flames of Zeal*, to scatter about the *Court* and *Kingdom*. A
loud and sudden *Cry* must be raised in fear of *Popery*, by pretence of which (*the Old trick*)
the *Nation* was to be forthwith *intoxicated*; and the *Lord Clifford* confounded; and all
Papists also were to be put out of *Office*, because the *Maker* of this *Out-cry* was in fear

to be so. I write not this to plead for their being in Office ; but only to observe how pat the little Adversary timed all things, for his own purpose of commencing the new Game of Popularity. He foresaw his own Fate , and labour'd hard to get in elsewhere , before they had quite thrown him out at *White-Hall*; that so when he went off, he might in a new World turn up *Trump* , as the Faith's great Defender against Popery. This was the reason why he spurr'd on that *Act* so eagerly , to run Papists out of Office ; and why he afterwards appeared so vigorous in putting the *Act* in execution : for, in all the time since the King's *Happy Restoration*, we never heard, till this sudden fit, of his Lordships having been in any fright before about the Papists , or any other sort of Religion whatsoever. So that from the time of this first fright , we are to reckon the Rise of all the Jealousies and Contests that have ensued lately, or which may ensue , about the Affairs of the Government; and of all the late ill Impressions, which have been craftily and most industriously made upon the minds of the people, to prepare them (if possible) for a Mutiny.

L E T T E R.

BUT the Letter goes on thus : *In this posture, matters were found in the Session of Parliament that began Octob. 27. 1673. which being suddenly broken up, did nothing.*

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

TIS a condition of Affairs much to be lamented, that so many Sessions of Parliament have of late been broken *re infectâ* ; and we might very much wonder at it , considering his Majesties great delight which he hath had in the good Advices & Affections of his Parliament, did we not know that some *Envious Ones* made it their Business to *sow Tares*, and cast Blocks in the way to impede all happy Proceeding ; that either House might be imbroiled in its self, and both with one another ; and so be utterly incapacitated for any dispatch of Publick Business. The Instances are too sad to be mentioned, and I wish they were for ever in oblivion , which necessitated his Majesty, for the very Honour of Parliament it self, and of his Government, to put an end to many strange Debates and Controversies , which could by no other means be done ; but by ending the several Sessions. For, even in that House , whose true Interest is inseparably and more especially annexed to that of the Crown Imperial of this Realm, and cannot stand without it, there was found a new *Lord*, this last *Session*, whose Speech (if we may believe a Paper called a Speech, carefully printed under the Name of the Earl of *Shaftesbury*) vented many strange passages, upon the Debate of appointing a day for the hearing of Dr. *Shirley's Cause* by the *Peers* : which shew plainly enough , who it was which backt and befooled the Doctor to a perpetual attendance on that Business ; not for any good will to him , who (poor Man !) was made a meer Stalking-Horse, but to catch other ends, and creat mischief to King and Kingdom , by strangling the great Affairs and Hopes of His Majesty , in the mid'st of His many pressing publick Occasions for Supplies ; to the want of which Supplies in good time , we are to ascribe the late loss of Repute, with the other publick Inconveniences and Damages in our Naval Interests, &c. which have been complained of. Such Men there are, as study first how to tie up the Hands of the King and his Ministers with Necessity, and then make the People cry out at them, for not doing what they were disabled to do. And therefore, that the Nation may know to what Mal-content the King and People do owe those Damages, and the fruitlessness of the last Session of Parliament; & from thence ghesse, who it was that drove the design of frustrating also the several Sessions that went before it : It will not be amiss to give the World some account here of divers Passages of that Speech, Printed with the Title of the Earle of *Shaftesbury*, which no Man that reads, but would swear it his.

This Speech confesses, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Bishop of *Salisbury* had at the same

same time made Speeches, to shew, that to set a day to enter upon a Hearing in the Lords House, of the Cause of Dr. Shirley, before the great Concernes of the King and Kingdom, in Supplies of Mony, and other Bills, should be dispatched, would be to induce several grand Inconveniences: As first, That seeing both Houses had been highly engaged in Contests with each other about their respective Priviledges, occasioned by that Cause, the appointing of a short day for their Lordships to heare it, would immediatly bring on the like Contests again, and so cause a Breach betwixt the Houses: and, Secondly, That after such a Breach, made for the sake of a private Cause, no ordinary way being left for dispatch of the many publick Bills depending in the Houses, or for raising of Moneys; the whole Business of Naval Preparations, and of other great Affairs, and of the Reputation and Interests of the King and Kingdom, at home and abroad, would unavoidably fall to ruine. And their Lordships were told, They could not but be convinced in their consciences, that if that matter of Shirley were then prosecuted, it must cause a Breach. This was the Sence also of most other Noble Lords.

But alass! that Printed Speech makes the Earle of Shaftsbury ring another Tune, as if his Lordship had other publick Busines, or as if it had no longer been Shirley's privat Busines, but his Own: so that if we may believe that Print, the People need no other evidence, to shew who was the Designer of the last Sessions of Parliaments non-effect; or to enable them to ghes, who it was that spoiled several foregoing Sessions, by spinning the like long Speeches, to start and cherish Controversies, instead of doing Busines. And from thence they may do well to consider, if the like shal be done again, what kind of Man that is, who shall endeavor to render a Parliament of noEffect: And what a difference can be made betwixt a Subverter & a Continual Frustrater of the Parliamentary Constitution.

In the first place, that Speech tells the Lords, That the *All* of their Lordships was at Stake in that Busines of Shirley; as if the House of Peers could not stand unless they resolved to hear him that Minute: and yet many Lords (if Prints belie them not) did seem to believe it. But those Lords (I suppose) cannot but by this time observe this one Passage of the Print, (page the 5th) which represents my Lord Shaftsbury being in fear, that a Vote might pass there for meddling with no private Busines for six weeks. *O my Lord*, said he, *if this be your Busines, see where you are, if we are to postpone our Judicature, for fear of offending the House of Commons, for six weeks, they in the interim may pass the M O N E Y, and other acceptable Bills, which His Majesty thinks of importance.* Sure, the Print hath belied so Loyal a Heart as my Lord Shaftsbury, to make him speak thus: which in plain English amounts to this; [*my Lords, take heed what you do, the King longs to have the Bill about Money; and the other acceptable Bills of importance dispatch-ed, and brought to him; and the House of Commons would fain have Shirley's Busines laid aside for six weeks, that the work may not be hindred, but the King satisfied.*] As if it had been a matter of Danger to satisfie the King; which is a Reflection upon Majesty, not to be darted out by any Subject in so great an Assembly: And by it, you have the purpose of the great Design pointed out in most Legible Characters; his Lordship openly perswading the Peers, if he can, to thwart the King, and render the Parliament unfit to do the Kings Busines: So that if the Print be a true Copy of his Speech, then here's the Trouble-House; *Ex ore tuo condemnaberis.* What need we any more witness who it is that troubles the King and Kingdom?

But the Print goes on, and saith, his Lordship said further, That to lay sweet Shirley aside (page the 6th) would be to alter the Constitution of the Government: and there is no Reason of State can be an Argument to your Lordships, to turn your selves out of that Interest you have in the Constitution of the Government. Nothing may more make us suspect this Speech, than that it presents his Lordship as a Man afraid of altering the Constitution of Government. I must confess I never knew him like an alteration in any Government, as long as himself could be one in it: therefore seeing he is none now, 'tis wisely done

of him to insinuate the Crime upon others ; for , so the Print doth very sliely upon those Noble Lords , whose Judgment and Conscience led them to lay aside Disputes about Judicature , that they might do the King and Kingdoms Business before *Shirleys* : And for this they were told (*Page 6th.*) that they were ready to give away their Peerage , with its Rights and Priviledges ; and tumbling down their own House , to become Creatures as mean and low , notwithstanding they have Titles, *as they are in absolute Monarchies* : *And , that there is no Prince that ever govern'd without a Nobility , or an Army ; if you will not have one , you must have t'other.* And thus he concludes , [*I therefore declare , that I will serve my Prince , as a Peer , but will not destroy the Peerage to serve him.*] And now let us consider , what occasion or need his Lordship had of this high bravade , unless it were craftily to possess mens minds with a secret opinion , as if the King & those noble Lords , which stuck close to His Majesties Concerns , and the Kingdoms , in this Debate , had an end to *overthrow the House of Peers* , make the Monarchy *absolute* , and Rule by an *Army* : A thing the most impertinently , and senselessly insinuated that can be , from such Premisses as have been mentioned. And it rather argues , that the Arguer hath some strange design or other upon the Government , if he cannot by hook or by crook get himself in again to the Helm of it ; But , his Reasons and the Design being well enough apprehended , this , and some other little Delusions , of late years practised under publick good Pretences , cannot but be understood by the Lords and Commons , as meer Tricks to turn the Frame of Government off its wheels again , and to shatter it into a *Presbyterian Aristocratick* , or a *Popular Tyranny* : for , that is the inevitable consequence of unhingeing this *well-order'd-Monarchy*.

But , the *Print* saith , his Lordship went yet farther , being resolved to search the Monarchy to the bottom (*page 10. and 11.*) and , by the way , he digs down as low as the Grave of Archbishop *Laud* . His Lordships Friends of Presbytery tumbled him in , and why should not he make bold to rake him out again ? The new *Canons* also made in that Archbishops time are brought forth and Arraigned , with the Bishops , for asserting Monarchy to be of *Divine Right* . It seems then the Work is going on again : they mean to bait the Bishops , and undresse the Monarchy once more , and then stuff it with Presbyterian Hay or Stubble. It may amaze any man to think , of his Lordships wild way of discourse ; how it was possible , from so slender a Topick as the Case of *Shirley* , to improve it unto the introducing and determining of so many great and weighty Points ; and how he had the Art to hale them in thus by head and shoulders : but , the itch of much Speech-making , is a disease that makes men sometimes delirious. For , the *Print* boldly infers these following Particulars.

1. *That the King is King by Law , and by the same Law that the poor man enjoys his Cott age.* What need this have been said , at a time when there was no occasion for it , unless his Lordship had a mind to maintain , That the King hath no Right more Divine than a Cottager ? for , *Dolus latet in Generalibus* ; and these things do not portend any good meaning.

2. *That a King Governing by an Army , without his Parliament , is a Government* (saith he) *that I own not , am not obliged to , nor was born under.* 'Tis a pleasant thing to have thus entertained the House of Peers ; First , with setting up *Men of Straw* ; and then to defeat them , start *Chimera's* , and run them down again ; by force of imagination to fix a King , as Governing in the head of an imaginary Army , and then rout him : and , the Scene of all this must be supposed to be *England* , because his Lordship was not born , nor is obliged to Government any where else : Nor can the Common Readers of his printed *Speech* apprehend , but that he means , & would seem to fear , all this in *England* ; To what purpose else can so wise a *Lord* be thought to make so serious and eager a Protestation against it ? or to what purpose else was it so carefully made publick in print , but that it was the ready way to get the World to understand it so ? and that seems the sole drift of the zeal of these impertinent excursions. But yet he goes on.

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3. That he cannot find, that the Jesuits, or Popish Clergy, ever owned Monarchy to be of Divine Right; but only some Episcopal Clergy of our British Isles. Then the Episcopal Clergy are (it seems) the better Subjects in a Monarchy. As for the two sorts of Jesuits, the Popish One, and the Presbyterian; the former will not allow it to the Monarch, because he would leave a gap open for the Popes Claime over Him: the latter also is of the same mind, because he would subject Him to his Preshtery. There needs no reasoning, to evince these things, seeing there are few men in our Age, who have not seen the truth *in fact*: so that 'tis the clear interest of the Crown, That if it will have a Church National to govern by, it must be Protestant-Episcopal; otherwise, its self cannot be secure from the Invasions and Insolencies of the Pope on the one side, or of the *Many-headed Presbyter* on the other.

4. That to say this Family are our Kings, and this particular Frame of Government is our Lawful Constitution, and obligeth us, is owing only to the particular Laws of our Countrey. Well urged *in print*, my Lord, here is a fair Gap laid open for another Family, and another sort of Government. And Why? The reason is plain, because 'tis possible we may have other Laws. Let but the Game go on, *the Men of Shaftesbury*, if they get it, will soon shew us that *Laws* also may be changed; and then what may become of the Frame of Government! And what may become of the Family, if it shall not give way to the alteration of the old Laws and Government? He that makes a Crown to have no other Foundation but particular Laws, ought first, in a Monarchy, to shew me whence those particular Laws could come, but from the Crown and him that first wore it: Law and popular Consent came in afterward; not to constitute, but to confirm and corroborate it on his head. I find, after long Observation and Experience of these matters, 'tis among all our *State-Heretics* and Spurious Politicians, an *Error in Fundamento*, which leads them to dispute with Crowned Heads, and that boldness prepares them to rebel; that they will needs suppose in the Original of Monarchy, a *Priority of Laws* to make it such. As to *Fact*, the Histories of Nations in general do confute that *vain Hypothesis*, upon which all their Arguments are built; and do shew, that for the most part, Laws about Monarchy came in *after its Institution*, to second it by the peoples *Confirmative Consent*: Not that this gave it any Authority, but their Assent to the Laws about it, was only a Signal of their submission and obedience to it. And as it was thus in the beginning of Monarchies, so, as to the Reason of the Point, it holds much the more strongly against them in *Monarchies already Constituted*; for, there, no Law can be supposed *Prior* to the Monarch, because they all flow from him, and cannot have beeing without him. Therefore, that Mans Allegiance stands upon very slippery and uncertain Terms, who concludes the King and his Family, and their Rights, as meer Creatures of some particular Laws of the Country, and prints this Doctrine to the whole Kingdom, to beget in them mean thoughts of that Royal Right to the Crown Imperial of this Realm, which is naturally inherent in his *very Blood*, and *Person*, and *Family*; and cannot, in a *true English Political Sence*, be otherwise consider'd: So that if ever his Lordships Notion be started again among the Peers, 'tis like it may, in that House, meet with an *Animadversion* much more severe than mine.

5. Nevertheless, the Print goes on very roundly in the Name of his Lordship, and *faith*, (Page 11.) If the *Doctrine of the Divine Right of Monarchy* be true, then our *Magna Charta* is of no use, our *Laws* are but *Rules during the Kings pleasure*. Monarchy, if of Divine Right, cannot be bounded or limited by Humane Laws; nay, what's more, cannot bind it self. All our *Claims of Rights*, the *Rights of the Peers House*, and of the *Commons House*, and of all *People*, must give way to the *Interest, and will, and pleasure of the Crown*; and the best Men must *Vote to deliver up all we have*, not only when *Reason of State*, and the *separate Interest of the Crown* require it, but when 'tis known the *will and pleasure of the King* would have it so. For, that must be to a *Man of that principle*, the only *Rule and Measure*

Measure of Right and Justice —— Excellent State-Logick this! and were it my Aim to pervert the people, I would thus chop Allegiance into a thousand Niceties, as the School-men do Divinity, for making such like Inferences, to intoxicate the peoples minds; for, the Scripture makes Witchcraft near of kin to Rebellion; they seldom part company: and the Villany intended by such Arguments, is usually masqued and hid in ambiguous phrases. What ado is here made with the word *Divine Right*! It may be remembred, the same was made use of to purpose by the *Presbyterians*, to inflame people into the former Rebellion. We would fain forget all their past *Intrigues*; but it seems there is fresh use of them; or else these things had not been so boldly conjured up again into the *House of Peers*; a place too sacred for such discourses. In all Debates about the high Points of Polity, every Expression ought not only to be season'd by the speaker, *cum grano Salis*; but to be understood so also by the Hearers. If among Men of honest and fair intentions towards the King, it be said, the King holds his Monarchy by a *Divine Right*, none but a Mad-man, or a Man of design, a Man whose Business 'tis to catch at words, and cramp them with Commentaries to his own purpose; a Man that can blow up *Molehills to Mountains*; who carries a *Microscope* in his Pocket upon occasion, *to see all in great*, who, when he pleases, *strains at Gnats in State*, while he is out of Government; but can *swallow Camels* when he is in it; none but such a Man would presently conclude, that such a *Divine Right* was meant, as excludes all bounding or limitation by Humane Laws, such a One as leaves no Obligation from the Prince to the People. A Father hath a *Divine Right* to Rule his Son, and a Master his Servant; else the Scripture had never made Divine Injunctions, investing them with Rights of absolute power over them; and yet the same Scripture also signifies, that notwithstanding those Rights are *Divine*, there are Obligations also upon the *Father and Master*, to the *Son and Servant*. Such a Paternal absolute *Divine Right* it is, that the Kings of *England* have claimed and exercised over their Subjects, as that in all times *Lex cuenrrit*, the Laws have generally run in course, for preservation of all the Rights and Liberties of the People, as well as those of the Crown.

Now you see the *Fox uncased*: the word *Divine Right of Monarchy*, is no such Bugbear as we are told here in Print. And doubtless, the Lords and the Commons of *England*, all people both great and small, will well consider, that as this kind of discourse was haled into the *Lords House* upon no occasion, to serve some ends; so it was most improperly timed, to bring it forth in the Reign of such a King, whose tenderness towards the Laws and Liberties of the people, hath been most remarkable in all this Actions. And if any thing that hath a Face of Power or Force extraordinary, or unusual in the times of his Predecessors, hath appeared about him, 'tis no more than what these Fifteen years past hath been continued, and never found fault with by his *then Lordship*, but judged absolutely necessary, for his Guard and Defence against his *now Lordships* new Friends of *Presbytery*; the Irreconcileable Enemies, not only of this, but any King; because the very Constitution and Natural Temper of that Faction, renders them incompatible with the Nature of his Crown and Dignity: Yet none shall more kiss him, and in kissing, none more diminish him. Nor can there be imagined greater Enemies to all the rest of his people; not only because their design is spurred on with a Religious Zeal of Domination over their Fellow-subjects; but because also their Machinations being restless and perpetual to grasp the Power, they necessitate the King, for defending his own Station, and his other peoples, to become the more heavy in his demands of Supply, to sustain the Government against such Domestick Adversaries. And if ever the Excellent Form of it happen to be spoiled, (which God forbid) we must owe it to that sort of Men, who have always made it their business to create Parties, and *tell Noses* in both Houses, and *start such Hares as can never be run down*; so that there might be neither time nor room to 'handle, or make an end of the important

Affairs of the Kingdom ; and what is this, but to destroy the Exercise, Use, and publick End of Parliaments in *England*.

But the *Print* hath not done yet. *Shirley's Cause* hath drawn hither also the whole Business of *France* and *Holland*. We owe (it saith) the two last years Peace (by that it means the Peace we have with the *Dutch*) to the two Houses differing from the sence and opinion of *White-Hall*: And it saith, his Lordship said, 'tis a thing to be prayed for, that there may be no general Peace made with *France*; and that he himself would advise against it.

— *Quantum mutatus ab illo !*

See how consistent his Lordship is with himself! Even as he was wont to be. Time was, when he was an Adviser at *White-Hall*, and he could be of their sence then, and took pains also to bring the Houses to it.

As for example, When it was the sence of *White-Hall*, that a War ought to be made with the *Dutch*; as glad as his Lordship now is of the Peace with them, he was at first as high as any Man against them; as appears by his Speech when he was *Lord Chancellor*, at the opening of the Session of Parliament, 5. Febr. 1672. wherein he said all he could to inflame the Houses against the *Dutch*, he reckoned up their Personal Indignities to the King by Pictures and Medals, and other Publick Affronts from the States themselves; their Breach of Treaties both in the *Surinam* and the *East-India* Business; their Height of Insolence in denying the Honor and Right of the Flag, and disputing the Kings Title to it in all the Courts of Christendom: And that they made great Offers to the French King, if he would stand by them against us: but the Most Christian King too well remembred how dangerous a Neighbour they were to all Crowned Heads. That they were the Common Enemies to all Monarchies, especially to Ours. And thereupon, as angry as he is now at our Kings fair carriage with the French, he then concluded, it was well done to joyn Interest with the French King. And he told the House then also, That at any rate *Carthago est Delenda*, the *Hollanders* were not only to be brought down, but destroy'd. And further, to engage the Parliament to liberal Supplies against them, he told the Houses thus: 'Tis your War; the King took his Measures from You, and they were Just and Right Ones. And if after this you suffer them to get up, let this be remembred, The States of Holland are England's eternal Enemy, both by Interest and Inclination. You see his Lordships opinion then was, that the Parliament ought to bow to the Sence of *White-Hall*; but in a little time after, the Scene was altered; for no sooner went his Lordship out of Office, but his business was to bow the Houses as much the other way; and with the same eagerness for a Peace with the *Dutch* against the Sence of *White-Hall*.

Quo te teneam nodo mutantem Protea ? —

And in like manner, he hath laboured to put the People out of humour with *White-Hall*, and set them against our being any way concerned with the *French*; telling the *Lords* in this *Print*, what a mighty dangerous Neighbour that King is grown to be. But the good People of *England* ought withal to consider, That King did not in a nights time grow up to this Magnitude. He was but little less at the time of his Lordships Greatness; yet all was well enough as long as his Lordship was great too; for then there was no clamour of his about it, either in or out of Parliament: therefore mistake not his present Peek and Indignation at the Court, for a Zeal towards the publick.

So I have done with that *Speech* to the *Lords*, Printed with the Name and Title of my *Lord of Shaftesbury*; and now ye Men of *Shaftesbury*, what do you think of him? Have ye not reason to be proud of so able a *Speech-Maker*? He's a brave Man indeed that can blow up a Parliament with a Breath, and a Kingdom into a Flame; but what wise Men are they that do not yet understand him! And what a Knave is he that thinks I mean the *Earl of Shaftesbury* to be the Man!

Now though I have done with the *Speech*, yet I cannot have done with the rest of the *Print*; for I see Printed in the end of it another businesse, in the Name of my good *Lord Shaftesbury*: It is Entituled, *The Protestation, with the Reasons of several Lord's*,
for

for the Dissolution of this Parliament ; Entred in the Lords Journal, Novemb. 22. 1675. the day the Parliament was Prorogued. So that it seems his Lordship is not ignorant how this Protestation came on ; nor can the World be ignorant how far his hand went in promoting it ; care having been taken by some Body, during the time his Lordship was in the Countrey , before the last Session of Parliament , to employ certain Emisaries and Agents , to carry up and down ; not only to many Lords in and about this City ; but likewise, to all the most noted *Coffee-houses* , Copies of a Letter, said in the Superscription of it , to have been first written to the Earl of *Carlisle* , and to have been subscribed,

Your Lordships humble Servant ,

S H A F T S B U R Y.

My Lord of *Carlisle* is a very noble Person , and I would not by any means mis-represent him, he having seen too many Experiments of *Mal-contented Demagogues*, and their little Tricks , to be caught by them , or to countenance them. 'Tis rather to be supposed, the *Penner* made bold with him. It was necessary to direct it to some Body, and easie to send Copies along with it , at the same time , to be communicated to every Body ; for there was no fear, but among the *Coffee-hauntings*, there would be found Copiers enough , to furnish both City and Kingdom ; the Design being laid now by this new Epistle, to prepare Mens Minds for a crying down the present Parliament , seeing there are too many Wise Men in it , and too Loyal to be shaken by a *Shuttlecock* ; and for crying out for a *New Parliament* , while in the mean time matters are so labor'd in the *Old One*, (as we have abundantly seen the last Session) that no Busines shold be done by them; and then there may thence arise (as is imagined) an unanswerable Argument for a Trial of Skill in Electing a *New* : for, his Tool the Presbyter, despairing to get Dominion by the way of the King , wants only opportunity to be Canvasing and Tugging for another *Forty-One-Parliament* ; and would never be at rest , till he hath gotten both Houses over his Head again at *Westminster*. So that if the other *Nonconformists* will well apprehend the improvement of their own Interest , let them know , that as they have reason to decline them , being their worst Enemies by principle ; so they have the fairest opportunity, in shewing themselves firm henceforth to the Crown , to stand most fair in the good opinion and favour of his Majesty , as a Party much more tolerable in the Constitution of the Government : And then there can be no fear of that they call Persecution , because the reason and occasion of it will be gone. No Creditor but will be kind, when he hath gotten *Security*. Even so it is with Kings , and other Governours : they grieve no Party more than other , when they are once secured they will pay the Debt of Obedience and Loyalty ; for , 'tis their Interest to cherish , and see every Party thrive and flourish , if it be not dangerous.

Arguments in that Epistle his Lordship offers none, having long since arrived to that Noble Confidence , as to think his own word sufficient warrant for any assertion ; therefore he boldly saith, 'tis the interest of the King , the Lords, and the Commons, to have a *New Parliament* , without any more ado. But for his Reasons , we must have recourse to the *Protestation* it self ; which are first for the Dissolution of this Parliament, and they are but these few following.

First, The *Protestation* saith, *It is according to the ancient Laws and Statutes of this Realm, that there should be frequent and new Parliaments; and that the practice of several years hath been accordingly.*

'Tis true, the Kings of this Realm have formerly had cause to delight in calling them ; and our *Chronicles* tell us also , that till the *Barons Wars* came , and after the *Barons Wars* were ended, down to the time of King *James* , Parliaments were modest in their station, and easie to the King ; so that the Busines of the Kingdom went on current, without long Speeches and hot Disputes : But in King *James* his time, the *Pres-*

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byter or Puritan (as Men then called him) (whom Queen *Elizabeth* in her time, not without much ado kept down) began to spread his wings, grew numerous and head-strong, so that they were able to furnish the Commons House with a *Canvassing Party*, and did it constantly at every Election; and divers Members of the House of Peers, who in those dayes affected Preferment at Court, and wanted it, and envied others that had it, or were otherwise male-content, or intoxicated with mistaken Zeal, of new Phantasies about Religion, or Church-Government, were not wanting to make a *Party of Lords*, to second that *Fiery part of the Commons*; who carried matters divers times so high, that That King was necessitated, towards the latter end of his Reign, for the Honour of his *Crown*, and Preservation of the Government in quiet, often to dissolve them. Of which the Puritan (that is, the Presbyter) always made advantage by exceeding Clamour against the Court, to gain the ignorant and unwary part of the people to his party. And so you see to what sort of Men we owe the new invention of *Frustrating Parliaments*.

After this comes King *Charles the First* to the Government, upon whom they perpetually practis'd it in all Parliaments that he called; and at length (you know) that at wor-king upon the Kings Necessities in the year, 1641. they in a manner constrained him to perpetuate them in Power; which was the *Ruine of the Royal Government*, and at length, of all Government it self. It is to be noted also, that it was not till the beginning of his Reign, that they took up the other *New Trick of State*; which was, seeing they durst not yet be so bold, as to strike at the King himself for supposed defaults in Government, they resolved to strike as near him as they could; and so they began to make it constant work, to fall upon his *Chief Ministers of State*; and always, in the Intervals of Parliament, made it their Busines to fill the Kingdom with Clamours against them; so preparing them thereby, as a Sacrifice to their own ends and cruelty, and to the peoples folly, against every Call of a Parliament. Thus it was from the time of the old Duke of *Buckingham*, (who by a brave Defence in Parliament, made good his Station) to the time of that most brave, though most unfortunate Man, the Earle of *Strafford*, whom they worried to death by *Popular Tumults*, after he had baffled them at the Bar in defending himself most gloriously: As they did also *Archbishop Laud*, a Man of high design for the Honour of the King, and Glory of the Church; which they charged on him to be for introducing of Slavery and Popery; so that all the rest of the King's Minis-ters were glad to flee for safety of their Lives. Nay, they stopt not here; but being flusht, drew up Articles of High Treason against the *Queens Majest*. And then, we too sadly remember, how easily afterwards they passed on to a Charge against the King himself.

I write not this, as if I meant to scandalize, or cast an *Odium* upon that ancient Right and Liberty of Parliaments, to inspect the Actions and Behaviour of the great Officers of Trust, and call them to account, if faulty; it being confessed a good advantage and security to the King and Kingdom, and necessary to be continued: but my pur- pose here is only to note, when and how the Abuse of that Parliamentary Power, and by what Faction it was first made so extravagant, that no sooner could a Favourite or Mi-nister of State be warm in his Office, or in the Kings Favour, and had resolved to look strictly to a maintaining the Rights and Constitution of Government in Church and State, but immediatly they fell upon the Back of him, and gave out the word for his Displacing, or his Destruction. No doubt but the best of Men in great place will have Errours and Faults, being more than other Men distracted with many Businesses, and exposed to many Temptations, as the Earl of *Strafford* said at his Trial; but that they should by popular Breath and Faction, be blown up to the degree of high Crime, or Treason, when they have perhaps, in the Judgement of Men moderate and wise, on-ly served the King with the best of their skill; this is both uncharitable, and cruel; or the effect of Faction, or Envy; and it is this only that I redargue: for, it is, in a Factiou-

time, the great Interest of the Crown to see to it, and to nip this grand Abuse whenever it shall be practised; always taking due measure between a just or conscientiable, and a factious prosecution. Else these Inconveniences will follow.

As 'tis in the Nature of Man to be well-conceited of himself, (otherwise most men would even hang themselves) so generally a secret Envy arises in him at the preferment of another, because he thinks he deserves better than he; and the King presently gets his ill-will for passing him by. This Man then meets with many other of his own sence and humour; and so by rubbing each others sores till they smart, they resolve presently, that the Preferree is a Common Enemy, and as such to fall upon him: And so the issue at last shall be this, when the course of Accusation grows customary, that the King shall never be free of his own choice, nor secure of his Ministers, when he hath chosen them.

Moreover, when to be preferr'd shall be to be exposed, and shot at by all the Darts of Envy and Danger, what Man of wisdom or Fortune will be willing to accept of Preferment? or be true and tight to the Kings Concern and Interest in the Government, if he do accept it? Or will he not rather be tempted, through fear of that Accusatory Faction, to serve the Regal Interest but by halves? or perhaps to betray his Masters Government in Church and State, (as some did in the time of the Kings Father, when they saw him forced to leave Strafford) to make a Friend of that Faction? For, thus Men will be too apt to do, when they cannot be sure of their Master. So that if Kings once quit their Constancy in this particular, nothing brings greater hazard to their own Interest of Government, and their Persons; nor greater diminution to the Kingly Dignity and Power, in the opinion of other Princes, while his Ministers and himself shall remain liable to be baited, at every turn of humour, by so base and impetuous a Faction: as if himself were not wise enough to chuse, or as if we had none but Knaves in the Kingdom to be chosen.

Finally, 'Tis, and ought ever to be, an Arcanum kept, as the Jewels are, in the Royal Cabinet, to preserve all places which are nigh the Throne, so sacred as not to be easily invaded; for that draws a Reverence to the Throne it self, which should be religiously fenced about, not only as the Sacrary of Royalty, but as the Sanctuary also of other Princes; for, such are his great Men, and high Officers of State in their places: They are as the Lyons about the Throne of Solomon, to beget a dread and sence of Majesty in all that approach to it: and those are not Beasts for Sacrifice, nor to be offer'd up as such, nor to be pull'd down, without very great cause of Justice require it; because the frequency of pulling down the Fence, burdens Men; and renders them by custom so hardy, as to make bold with the Throne it self.

This licentious Abuse of criminating the Kings Ministers, hath by the same Faction which first began it, been carried of late times to such a height, that were a Man before reputed never so honest, yet no sooner doth the King make him one of his great Officers, but that if he sticks close to his Masters Interest of Government, he presently becomes a publick Enemy; and as such they brand him and tease him, and seek to tire out his Majesty with Importunities and Addresses to be rid of him. This sort of Behaviour was the reason which made his Majesties Grandfather and Father not so frequent in calling Parliaments; and the Protestant Lords may do well to consider, how little reason their Son, his present Majesty, is like to have, to become fond of New Parliaments, till he can have some good ground to believe, that they will return to the like temper and moderation, as they had in old time, when those ancient Laws and Statutes for frequent calling them were made: or until the people see their error at Elections, in suffering Men of that implacable Faction, which first poyson'd the fair stream of Parliamentary Duty, still to creep into the House, to shelter themselves in acting their mischievous Designs, under the covert of privilege of Parliament, and publick good. ----- So I have done with their Lordships First Reason in the Protestation, and proceed to the Second, which is this.

Secondly, It seems not reasonable, that any particular number of men should, for many years, ingross so great a trust of the People, as to be their Representatives in the House of Commons,

Commons , and as good men as these *Members of the Counties and Corporations* , be so long excluded . This kind of reasoning I never expected from the mouths of such Noble Lords . Nay , then (methinks) I see *John Lilburn* putting on Robes , and uttering his old *Oracles of State* . What ! Is there no *Smith* to be found in *Israel* , to whet Arguments for their Lordships ; that they are fain to go down to him , and his *Philistines* the *Levellers* ? for , thus they argued nigh Thirty years ago against the then *House of Commons* : and good my Lords remember , that the same Argument being but a very little altered , served also at that time against the *House of Peers* . Be informed , my noble Lords , you whose names I find in a *Catalogue* Printed at the end of this *Protestation* ; for ye cannot , (I suppose) remember , because when I read your *Names* , I perceive that none of you were then *Sitters* in the *Lords House* , except one , whose name I forbear ; as I do the names of all the rest , beside my good Lord of *Shaftsbury* ; who , in those dayes was *ubiquitarian* : therefore doubtless , he could have inform'd your Lordships , as well as I , of what then passed in publick , if it had been to his Purpose that you should have had this information , before you were thus far transported , and your names cunningly proclaimed in Print ; which questionless was done , in hope that it may be a means to fasten and engage you deeper .

But I say again (my Lords) Be informed , and consider , that it was the general Argument of *Lilburn* , and all the *Levellers* , that it suited not with the freedom and Interest of the people of England , That some men should continue long in *Publick Trust and Power* as the Peoples *Representatives* , seeing the rest of the people had as much right to govern as they , and therefore ought to have a turn as well as they in the *Government* . And for such a turn also , they were in the *Government* of the then *Army* ; they were for turning out all the General Officers and Colonels ; and the common soldiers were taught to demand Rule by turns ; and the clamor for it was so high , that *Cromwell* could by no means quiet them , till he gave way that they should , in every Regiment , chuse one privat soldier to appear for all his fellows , to sit and consult , in the *Generall Council of Officers* . And all this was urged and extorted , by using the same Argument of an equal Right in the *Commons* to come into Place of *Government* , one as well as another .

Nay , further , (my Lords) it may be remembred , this brave way of Arguing did not rest here : it did not only , at that time , trouble and shake the *Commons House* , but a little after it was improved to a demolishing of your own . From a *Clamouring* against *Commons* continuing long in *Power* , they proceeded to do the like against all *standing Powers* whatsoever ; so that of course they cast their eyes next at the *House of Peers* , and the like Argument served to purpose against them , as a *Power* of *long continuall* , without any respect at all to their *Birth-right* . As for the rest of their *Levelling Reasons* , I had rather bury then repeat them . For , it is my great grief to live to see any Lords , to whet the Weapons of Discourse upon the *Anvill of the Levellers* .

But yet , their *Protesting Lordships* go on thus :

Thirdly , *The long Continuall* of such as are intrusted for others , and who have so great a power over the *Purse of the Nation* , must , in our humble opinion , naturally endanger the producing of *Factions and Parties* , and the carrying on of particular *Interests and designs* , rather than the *publick Good* .

This their *Third Reason* being the last , is also an *Arrow* that was formerly shot out of the *Levelling Quiver* against their Lordships . They abundantly argued aga'inst the *Commons* , that *long continuall* of men in power and trust , and all *standing powers* whatsoever , were like *standing waters* ; they naturally corrupt ; and produce *Factions and Parties* for particular ends and designs , and minde not the *Publick Good* . I could here inject Quotations too many out of their Published Papers , to shew their Lordships , how smartly they argued also with the same kind of *Sophistry* , for the utter subversion of the *House of Peers* , alledging , that they were but men as well as others , and subject to the same frailties , &c . and so , being continually in power , were as likely to produce *Factions* , and drive particular *Interests and Ends* to the prejudice of the *Publick* ; and judged that

they did so in those dayes, when a Party of Lords strook in with a Presbyterian party in the Commons House, against the publick Interest and Good of the Independents and *Levellers*; who had arrogated unto themselves the name of *The Publick*, and *The People*, and *The Nation*. The having the *Purse* of the Nation long, as the Commons have; or a place of constant power over the Nation, as the Lords have by Birth-right, doth not alter the case in this way of Argumentation, because any men may be corrupt and factious in the use and exercise of either. Therefore these their Lordships ('tis hoped) will be *humble in Opinion* hereafter, about the matter of dissolving this House of Commons, and calling a *New One*; and not fall on a sudden to *Protesting*, till they see better reasons than what are borrowed from their old *Levelling Enemies*.

Certainly, my Lord *Shaftsbury*, if he had pleased, might have furnished his fellow-Protesting Friends and himself, before he signed that *Protestation*, with reasons of another strain, and those out of his own stock too; for, it appears, he hath been a much more rational person; but, it was before he lost his Places at Court; and truly, seeing a loss of so much Honour and Profit is enough to tap any man out of Tune, and put him into passion, we ought to give allowance for humane infirmity, and excuse his weak memory. For, his *Lordship* might have remembred, he was of another Opinion; and that was not long since, when he was *Lord Chancellor*, in his forecited Speech to the *Lords and Commons*, at the Opening of a Session of Parliament, 1672. where you had his *Lordship* in a Fit of Great Devotion, offering a Sacrifice of Thanks and Praise to the Almighty, for such a King, and such a Parliament, and for such happy times of Peace and Plenty: which for the Honor of his *Lordship*, or rather of the King and this *Parliament*, shall here be repeated. The Words are these.

[After His Majesties Conclusion of His Speech, let me conclude, nay let us all conclude with blessing God and the King. Let us bless God, that he hath given us such a King, to be the Repairer of our breaches, and the Restorer of our paths to dwell in:

That in the midst of war and Misery, which rages in our Neighbour Countries, our Garners are full, and there is no complaining in our streets: and a man can hardly know there is a War.

Let us bless God, that he hath given this King signally the hearts of His people, and most particularly of this Parliament, who in their affection and Loyalty to their Prince, have exceeded all their predecessors. A Parliament, with whom the King hath many years lived with all the Caresses of a happy Marriage. Has the King had a Concern? you have wedded it. Has His Majesty wanted Supplies? you have readily, cheerfully, and fully provided for them; you have relied upon the Wisdom and Conduct of His Majesty in all His Affairs; so that you have never attempted to exceed your Bounds, or to impose upon Him; whilst the King, on the other hand, hath made your Counsels the foundations of all his proceedings: and hath been so tender of you, that He hath, upon his own Revenue and Credit, endeavoured to support even Forreign Wars, that He might be least uneasie to you, or burdensome to His people.

And let me say, That though this Marriage be according to Moses's LAW, where the Husband can give a Bill of Divorce, put her away, and take another: yet I CAN ASSURE YOU, it is as impossible for the King to part with this Parliament, as it is for you to depart from that Loyalty, Affection, and Dutiful Behaviour, you have bitherto shewed towards Him.

Let us bless the King for taking away all our Fears, and leaving no room for Jealousies: for those Assurances and Promises He hath made us. Let us

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bless God and the King, that our Religion is safe. That the CHURCH OF ENGLAND is the Care of our Prince: That PARLIAMENTS ARE SAFE: That our Properties and Liberties are safe. What more hath a good Englishman to ask, but that this King may long Reign; and that this triple Alliance of King, Parliament, and People, may never be DISSOLVED?]

All which being spoken of this present Parliament, may well serve for an Answer to his Lordships *Protestation*, notwithstanding those Reasons therein contained: For surely, matters cannot in so short a time be so exceedingly alter'd, as to deserve this *protesting*, or the declaimings, in that violent manner, (as throughout this whole discourse we have seen) by reflecting upon the *Bishops*, and against the continuance of the *Parliament*, that were, in his Lordships good opinion, so sacred about five years ago. The old saying is, ----- *Nemo repente fit tarpissimus* -----; and 'tis a true one, that *no man grows as bad, as bad may be, on a sudden*: and if there be any weight in what his Lordship hath said on both sides, it is more reasonable and probable for us to conclude and understand ill of himself, rather than of the *Parliament*, because the *Transits* of Great Assemblies are not so quick: and another Proverb saith, *Great Bodies move but slowly*, so that their principles, purposes and designs, cannot vary all points of the *Compass*, at so brisk a rate as *one nimble States-man's*, whose motion is wont to be *per Saltum*, after the manner of *Leap-Frog*, from the *Artick* to the *Antartick* in a Trice; especially if he happen to fall into foul weather at Court, and can ride there no longer, but must make use of any wind to set sail into some other Port. Which (we hope) will be consider'd by the rest of the *Lords Protesters*.

And truly, their Lordships have the fairer excuse to come off, because the thing was done in a heat, and in haste; as appears first by the printed Title of the *Protestation*, which saith, it was on the morning that the *Parliament* was *Prorogued*, 1675. and the printed words at the end of it are, *That the Lords in print, were all that were in the House early enough to Sign it before the Prorogation*: So that it seems his Lordship could not be at rest, till he had given all the World to understand, why it was that he was so warm in his Speeches upon *Cross-points*, which must make a Breach betwixt the Houses all along the Session, to hinder all manner of publick Business; and then, from the non-dispatcht of it, to infer, that this *Parliament* is not fit for it; and then (forsooth) we are to believe what he dictates, and admit a *protesting Ergo*; That there is a necessity of dissolving this, and calling a *new Parliament*. For, his Lordship and the rest in print, do close the *Protestation* with these three Lines; *That it is in their humble Opinion, become altogether unpracticable for the Two Houses, as the case stands, joynly to pursue those great and good Ends for which they were called*. That is as much as to say, it will be so, if the case shall so stand in the opening of this *approaching Session*, as it was in the ending of the last. For, some say his Lordship hath Dr. *Shirley* in his pocket, and can start him again at pleasure, to make the same scuffle about *priviledge* betwixt the Houses. But some think he will be wiser; because the Trick being now thus plainly understood, it will be too ridiculous to play it over again, in an Assembly of so many noble, seeing, and knowing Men, as make up the *House of Peers*. Nor is it probable, that the *Commons-House*, filled with men of great wisdom, in-sight in Affairs, and Integrity, should meet together without Expedients to prevent further Contests, and to carry on the King and Kingdom's business. Which they are the rather obliged to do for the honor of their House, in a double respect: *First*, because if this *House of Commons*, which began and carried on things so gloriously, for the establishment of the King, and Settlement of the Kingdom, shall be deprived of opportunity to finish what they began, What can be the end, but to go out in a *Snuff*? according to the Designs of a busie *Rampant Faction*, who mortally

mortally hate them for the good they have done ; and whose Triumph it would be, to transmit the memory of them to posterity with ignominy, and this bitter Sarcasm, *That they began to build, but could not make an end.* ---- *Secondly,* They are exceedingly concerned in point of honor, seeing they are represented in print to the World, as a sort of people that may be easily plaid upon, and led by the nose to do what other men please. For, in a print published at the same time with the other prints, since the last Session, and by the same hand, Entituled, *The Debate or Arguments for Dissolving this present Parliament, and the calling frequent New Ones : as they were delivered in the House of Peers, Novemb. 20th. 1675.* I find, page 9. it is boasted by the Designers, concerning the Commons House, that they have a party of Members in that House, whom the said print calls, *Many of the ablest and most worthy Patriots among them ; whose business it was to second the Protesting Lords, by carrying this difference betwixt the Houses to the greatest height, that by this means they might deliver the Nation from this Parliament by Dissolution, and have a New One called.* So that here we have **O P E N C O N F E S S I O N**, that it was a *Design* carried on by a **P A R T Y** in both Houses, to bring on, and carry on their Fellow-Members to such disputes, as might Disable them to do the Publick Work ; and thence to conclude, that they ought to be dissolved. Which certainly is a Conspiracy of such a Magnitude, that none ever exceeded it but the *Powder-Treason* : Especially, if we consider, what course hath been taken by this kind of Prints, spread over the Three Kingdoms, to Poison mens minds, and render the Government Ridiculous, by exposing the Debates and Contestings of Parliament to the Scorn and Contempt of the Vulgar, through the Artifice and Cunning of that *Implacable Party*, which I have so often mentioned ; and whose **D E S I G N** is now Manifested, to be a **B L O W I N G U P** of the Parliament after another manner.

It cannot be amiss therefore, before I dismiss this Point, to try the strength of what they have **D I S C O U R S E D** for a **N E W P A R L I A M E N T**, as it hath been Printed in the fore-cited Pamphlet, called, *The Debate and Arguments used in the House of Peers, &c.* There are (saith that Pamphlet) *Two Objections that make a great Sound, which have really nothing of weight in them.*

The first Objection is, *That the Crown is in danger, if you call a New Parliament.* This Objection they pretend to answer, by saying, there's no fear of danger, because Men of *Quality, of Estates, and of the best understanding, and such as will give Money, will be chosen.* But, I reply, this Argument hath more Malice than Reason to support it, because it reflects, as if these were not such. The Generality of this House of Commons are known to be men of the best Quality, and of Estates, and of the best understanding. All their Fault is, in the Opinion of the *Conspiring Party*, that they too well understand them and their Design ; and what the true interest of the Crown is, and that as they ever have been, so they still are tight and firm to it, and the Government ; and that the great interest of the Nobles, Gentry, and Commons of the Land lies in being so. This they understand : Besides, they are men best acquainted and expert in the management of Parliamentary Affairs, and therefore more likely than men newly elected, to make dispatch of them, if the *Projectors* did not study all ways to impede them, for other ends than the ease and supply of the Crown. And therefore, a New Parliament is not now to be called for these following Reasons.

I. Because it is not for the honor of the King, to be as it were *Trepann'd* thus by Tricks, or worried by Clamors and Importunities, into a necessity of calling a new Parliament, because it will, in the judgement of wise men at home, and of Princes abroad, be no other than *an imposing upon him* in one main point of his *Prerogative* ; which is, to use His own discretion, and take His own time, for the summoning and dissolving of Parliaments.

II. It cannot be for his safety or advantage, because if Money be wanting, know, he must pay dear for it before the *New One* will give it : and, *What can they give which*

which may not more readily be had by the present *Parliament*, if the just indignation of His Majesty, and His two Houses shall arise against the stratagems of the *Prime Pro-jectors*, and defeat them? I cannot forget what mine eyes have seen in the dayes of His Royal Father; therefore, since *years teach wisdom*; and the experience of like matters in time past, gives instruction for the future, it cannot but be good to bring them fresh into remembrance. Let us therefore remember how it was with King *Charles the First*. It was the cunning of the same *Faction*, having an *aking Tooth* at the *Bishops*, and consequently a design to alter the Government, as now they have again; which they could not easily do without clamouring about matters of Religion; and against some Errors and Excesses, of the Court and the King's Ministers; Therefore, as they plied that point home, in hope to gain the people; so, in the beginning of His Reign, they finding the King in necessity of Money, to satisfie His Fathers Debts, and for other great occasions at home and abroad; and knowing that a Parliament must be called for raising Money, they laid the plot thus: *First*, to work upon that necessity by *high popular demands*, such as must either bow the King to comply with them, and then it would be easie for them to pursue their wild projects of alteration in State and Church; or else it would constrain him to break them: And that they feared not, knowing it would not be long before he would have occasion to call a *Second Parliament*; which they, by the like demands, would bring to nothing as easily as before, unless the King would consent to them: which they presumed he Would never do. And it came to pass, as they had before contrived; that the King was frustrated of the hopes he had of three or four Parliaments, by sending them away one after another, not getting on penny: but he being tired out, and having perceived that they entred upon such debates, and made such demands, as intrenched upon the interest of His Crown, and that a condescension to them would have brought both him and it into contempt; he was constrained to shift without Parliaments, to His great sorrow; and it proved to be the great occasion of the late War, enough to show what it is for a King in want of Money, in these dayes, to call a New Parliament, of whose kindness He hath had no experience; especially when hath already a Parliament in beeing, most dutiful, wise, and able to do his and his Kingdoms business; if some few persons would please to study peace, and leave off contention. The truth of the fore-mentioned plot of the Commons in those days, I shall, by and by, more particularly demonstrate.

In the mean while, you may remember, I told you, this sort of Game they began in the later end of the Reign of King *James*; and now you shall see how they plaid it. Before that time the Commons never meddled at so high a rate; But in the 19th year of that King, when he called a Parliament about the Assistance of the *Prince Palatine*, his Majesty was in great want of money to relieve the *Palatinate*; and great hopes were given him of a Supply. What was the Issue of this necessity of calling it? The King had a mind to Adjourn the Parliament but for a little season, and for some Reasons which he foresaw required it; whereupon, the *Faction* presently interposed, and drew the rest of their Fellow-Members to Petition him against Adjournment: insomuch that the wise King, being *Jealous of his Prerogative*, and not liking that the Commons should so much as meddle with it, though in a way but Petitionary, he very much resented it, and told a Committee which they sent to him about it, That he *took it very ill* the Commons should dispute his Reasons of Adjournment, *all Power being in Him alone to call, Adjourn, and Dissolve Parliaments*. This made the *Faction* so bold and mutinous in discourse every where, that his Majesty was fain to put forth a Proclamation against talking of State-affairs with such inordinate liberty.

The time of the Parliaments Adjournment being expired, they came together again; and what then? The *Palatine Cause* requiring Supply more than before; and the *Lord Treasurer* having in a Speech laid open the Kings wants, and how empty his Coffers were, the

the *Faction* thought they should now in his necessity be able to *work him like wax*; therefore in stead of Money, they immediately salute him with a Catalogue of his Faults, the growing mischiefs of his Government, and dictate unto him Remedies; and they called it, *A Petition and Remonstrance*. The King then, by Letter to the *Speaker*, sharply complains of this Indignity, imputes it not to the House it self, but to the boldness of some fiery and popular Spirits in the *House of Commons*, which were the Predecessors of our present *Faction*, whom he brands with *Breach of his Prerogative Royal*, by debating publickly Matters which were above them. Nevertheless, having him at a pinch for Money, they grew the bolder; and hereupon drew up another *Petition*, and sent it to back their former *Remonstrance*. To which his Majesty gave a smart *Answer*, taxing the *Faction*, and desiring the Commons henceforth not to give ear to those *Tribunitial Orators* among them; advising them also to keep within their Bounds; and that the way to preserve their Privileges, was not to pare his *Prerogative*, and pull the Flowers of the *Crown*. ---- Then to shew it was indeed a *Fiery Faction*, they blew the Flame yet higher, and by Speech-making, got the *Major Vote* to come to a *Protestation*, that they ought to debate high Matters, and it was their Priviledge, &c. But this was done by the *Faction*, by surprise, the third part of the House not present. This so moved the King, that to preserve his *Prerogative*, he was forced to send for the *Clerk of the House of Commons* to bring his *Journal-Book* to *white-Hall*, and produce it in the *Privy Council*, where his Majesty thought fit, that the *Protestation* should be razed out of all *Memorials*, and utterly to be annihilated, both in respect of the manner by which it was gained, and of the matter therein contained: and he did in full Council, and in the presence of the *Judges*, declare it void and of none effect, because it was penned in such general and ambiguous words, as might serve for future Times, to invade most of the Rights and *Prerogatives* annexed to the *Imperial Crown* of this *Realm*: For, his Majesty did not deny, but that the House might Treat and Debate *de Arduis Regni*, which words (said the King) were cunningly mentioned in that *Protestation*: but they ought to have remember'd also the word *Quibusdam*, which restraineth the generality of the other words, *Arduous Affairs of the Kingdom*, to such particular Cases as his Majesty pleaseth to consult with them upon. Therefore the King did further, *manu propria*, take the said *Protestation* out of the *Journal-Book* of the *Commons*, and made an *Act of Council* thereupon. And in six days after, he was necessitated to dissolve them, having got not one penny of money for his extream occasions. For it was the *Arcanum* of the *Faction* even in those days, to make *High Demands*, and raise *Quarrels about Priviledges*, and other matters intrenching upon the *Rights of the Crown*; that as oft as they got the *Parliament-House* over their heads, they tooke the same method of working upon *want of Money*, to brave the King: and by not supplying him, to hold his *Nose to the Grindstone*. They clamour'd ever for *Parliaments*, lured the King in with hopes of Money to call them, and then in stead of Money, they fell to disputing with him; so that the *Parliaments* in the latter end of King *James Reign*, were of no use to him, except the last, a little before he died: For, in his last appearance with them he complained, how the *Faction* had made him *break the Necks of three Parliaments together*: by which he meant the three preceding *Parliaments*.

King *James* being gone, now let us see more at large how they used his Son King *Charles*, in his first *Parliament*, *Anno 1625*. which, by reason of the *Plague at London*, was *Adjourned to Oxford*. The *Supplies* for carrying on the *Palatine Cause* had been pressed by the *Lord Keeper* before at *Westminster*; and now at *Oxford*, the *Kings Secretaries of State* report to both *Houses* the *Kings great Occasions for Money*, and the great Debts left upon him by his Father. Thereupon, the *Faction*, having a *Young King* to deal with, and in necessity for Money, began to rant more thin ever with high *Debates*; reflecting upon his *Ministers* as *Evil Counsellors*, and upon himself; upbraiding him, that his *Necessities* arose from *Imprudence*; and a world of such like stuff they

they twitted him with, and cried out also on Popery, as if it had been just coming in: but in the mean time they neglected the *Palatine Cause*, (the supplying whereof ought to have been speedy) and afterwards scandalized the King and his Ministers, in laying the blame of it upon them. Next, they fell upon High Demands from the King before they would think of a Penny: The same method as before in King James's days. So the King, perceiving they were resolved against Supplies, unless they might have their will upon himself, and tear his Ministers and some of his Counsellors in pieces, He after three moneths sitting, was forced to dissolve them.

About five moneths after that Dissolution, his Majesties great Necessities urged him to the calling of a *second Parliament*: which was done, and no sooner met; but the *Faction* resumed the very same Courses again; only in one particular they alter'd: from calumniating the Kings Ministers in general, they now began to fall (in stead of Monney) upon the Duke of *Buckingham*; though the King in his Speech willed them rather to remember; it was not long since in his Fathers time, that *they did so much honour and respect him, that all the honour conferred on him was too little*. Many hot and high Debates passed; nevertheless, in despight of the *Faction*, the Loyal part of the Commons made a shift to get a Vote for three Subsidies, and three Fifteens for the King: but it came to nothing; for though the King afterwards wrote a Letter to them, and otherwise also importuned them, to bring him that *Bill of Subsidie* to pass, telling them he should look upon *longer delay as a denial*; yet the *Faction* so disturbed the House with quarrelling Speeches and Debates, that nothing was done; the King got not a Farthing, and was constrained, after four moneths sitting, to dissolve them a *second time*.

The next year after, a *Third Parliament* was call'd, and though the *Faction* in it laboured hard in their wonted way, yet for meer shame at length a Subsidy was Voted, and passed by the industry of the *Loyal Party*: But on the other hand, the *Faction* stomacking the matter, contrived how to shew their malice another way, and drove on a *Remonstrance* to take away *Tonnage and Poundage*, one of the chief Maintenances of the Crown: Which to prevent, the King was fain to go himself in person to Prorogue them for Four moneths time; and that being nigh expired, it was by Proclamation Prorogued for Three moneths more; after which, being re-assembled, the *Faction* flew out into high fits about Priests, and Popery, and Grievances; and were so tumultuary, that the *Speaker* was leaving the Chair, but that they held him in by force, till they had pas'd Resolves against payment of the Kings *Tonnage and Poundage*: And so what money they had given with one hand, they took away with another. So that nothing being likely but mischief to the Crown by longer sitting, the King was glade to dissolve them by Proclamation afterwards, and to acquaint the world with their behaviour, by putting forth a *Declaration of the Causes of their Dissolution*.

Thereupon his Majesty was necessitated to have recourse unto extraordinary ways for Supply, to carry on the Government, without Parliaments, for almost Twelve years after; for by the violent and unreasonable proceedings of that *desperate Faction*, which, at every Election, crept in among them, they were reduced into a State, not only unpracticable and useleſſ, but dangerous to the Crown.

During this *Twelve years interval*, the *Faction* now lay at lurch in City and Countray, fretting and corroding in the bowels of the Government; and collecting matter of new accusations against the King and his Ministers, out of those extraordinary courses, which the necessity they had forced on them compelled them to take, for upholding the Government; and which their factious providence reserved in mind, on purpose to make use of, whensoever time should bring a necessity upon the King to call another Parliament. ----- It was so at length, that they contrived this necessity

for, they truck'd with the Scots, and by corresponding there, brought them into England in the Year, 1639. which put the King to a great charge to raise an Army to oppose them: But the matter being composed, a Pacification was agreed on; the Scots were to be paid a sum of Money, and Money the King must provide for them. So necessity at last made him call that fatal Parliament, which began Novemb. 3. 1641. Which being met, the Faction began now to worke on his Majesty to purpose; told him, no Money was to be had but by borrowing, and men would not credit them, unless they could be sure the Parliament might sit long enough to repay it. So by this means, the King being desirous to rid away the Scots out of the Kingdom, was wrought upon, for raising the Money, to pass that prodigious Act, which enabled that Parliament to sit at westminster as long as they pleased, and so to do what they list. Then (you know) how they used the King afterward for his kindness; what strange things they did, and to what Conclusion at length they came. From whence arises this sharp Instruction for all succeeding Kings, That while this Faction reigns upon the face of the Earth, they take heed of relying upon them, in a time of the Crown's necessity; and of giving them opportunity, by calling a new Parliament, in hope of getting Money; forasmuch as woful experience hath shewn us, they, at such a time, make it their business to ask, not to give; and never to leave asking, till they come to be disposers both of the King and Kingdom. This is it they would now be at, and have fixed their Party for it all over the Nation, to scuffle hard at new Elections. So I suppose, I have sufficiently cleared my Second Reason, by ample Experiments; that it cannot be for the King's advantage or safety, in such a time as the present, to part with this Parliament, and call a new; unless it were possible, that a Leopard should change his spots, or a Black-moor his skin; or that this Mercurial Faction, which is now, by its Leaders and Drivers, made more mad than ever for an opportunity, should change its nature, and become tame on a sudden; and be fix'd in a greater honesty and kindness to this King, than they were to his Grandfather and Father; or in truth, to the established Government and Interest of the Crown.

----- *Credat Iudeus Apella,*
Non ego -----

3. A Third Reason ariseth from the natural Temper and Constitution of the Party, in respect of the Government. He understands little that seeth not Presbytery to be the bottom of all; that Bottom wherein we have seen embarquing many years unpreferred Clergy-men, broken Factions, cashier'd Courtiers, guilty Officers, hypocritical Citizens, mistaken Zealots of both Sexes, old Sinners, but young Saints, and their pedling Levites; whose work it is, from house to house, to blow the Bellows round the Kingdom: All which use to employ their Talents to draw in many of the honest-hearted Gentry, though not into the same opinion with them in Religious matters, yet to side and vote with them in their pretences of redressing publick Grievances, reformation of Abuses, removing or doing justice upon evil Counsellors; and the like: And with these charms they have been wont to hold many publick-spirited Countrey-Gentleman fast to their side, till they have humbled the King, the Court, and all the Fast-Friends of the Government, and brought all to their bow; they give them the slip into further proceedings, they pull off their Visors, shew their Faces, and flie higher and higher, till they top all that is above, and tumble it down: as they did of old often in Scotland, and of late in England.

To that Malign ulcer of Presbytery it is, that most of the ill humours of the Kingdom flow; because the Presbyterian is for some National Government of the Church, though in such a way as is utterly inconsistent with the Monarchy. The reason of it is

plain,

plain ; because it derives no power from the King, but pretends only from the King of Kings, *Christ* ; yet would have a *Secular Influence*, to Govern the Kingdom in their own *Spiritual way*, which is by a *Parity of Presbyters* ; a Power purely *Aristocratical*, directly contradistinct to the form of *Monarchy*, to which the *single Bishop* only is agreeable, because he arrogates not any influence in Government over the people, but what he derives from the King. Now then, so it is, that seeing some *National Church-Government* is that which must be, and the *Episcopal* is that which is the Kings best hold, and most firm to him ; therefore the *Boutefens* and Leaders of present Quarrels, being fallen from all their interests in Court, common Cunning tells them, they must strike in with the men of the other Form, to build new Fortunes upon the ruine of the *Court*, and the *Bishops*, if they mean to be great, and Govern ; which cannot be more readily done, than by becoming pretended Reformers of the old Government in the Church, and by introducing a *Church-Aristocracy* in the room of it : for, if one be not, the other must be : and if so be they slip into the head of it, they will never be without such a Conscience, as will engage them to maintain it, being men of a versatile principle : So that when I view the printed Lists of them, me-thinks I already see *Lords States*, or at least *Twenty four Conservators that would be*, assisted by the *Spiritual Aristocracy* of a *General Assembly* ; for they reckon all is done, if they can but come to tug for it in another Parliament.

This brings us to take notice of a *Second Objection*, against their design of breaking off the Parliament, which the projecting Polititians seem to slight ; and 'tis this, *that the Church and this Parliament will fall together*. 'Twere but vain to write much more, to shew the grand probability of it, and of the debasement, or ruine, of this glorious Monarchy, if the *Faction* can finish what they have projected. But why is it that they utter'd and printed lately so many severe Reflections upon his Majesty and his Government? Why hath this *LETTER*, upon which I have here written these *ANIMADVERSIONS*, made it its main scope, to cast all the *Odium* of the evils therein pretended, upon the *Bishops*? Why have divers transactions been solely imputed to them, and they alone been represented blame-worthy, if there had been any cause of blame in things, which many times had been first moved by the *Temporal Lords*, if the design were not to exasperate mens minds principally *against Bishops*? Why are they so often slandered, as if they drave an Interest, as *Bishops*, prejudicial to the Rights and Interest of the People? What mean all these suggestions, if they meant not to prepare them for ruine by another Parliament, seeing they can never do it while this is in beeing? And why so great a zeal against them among the prime drivers of the *Faction*, who can owne nothing of Religion or Reformation, save what they take up for crafty ends, but because they well know there is no way to invade the Throne, but by first removing *Bishops*? which seeing this Parliament, their Defenders, will never suffer ; that is the reason why some have been so vehement in debates to embroil the Houses, to make it impossible for them to do any thing more for the Publick ; and so by taking away their reputation, they may not be able to defend themselves against the plotted out-cries of the People, to make the *Church and this Parliament fall*, and sink under the fury of the *Faction* both together.

Thus having taken a survey of all the other holds of Reason, wherein they fortifie themselves, and infest the Government by frequent sallies forth in print ; and having reduced them, and planted better Reasons in their stead, 'tis time to return to the main Fort which I left, I mean the *LETTER* ; which will now be the more easily and quickly defeated.

L E T T E R.

THE next Session of Parliament, which was January 7. following, many excellent Votes were in hand in order to a Bill. Among the rest, one was, That the Princes of the Blood-Royal should all marry Protestants.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

Tis rather to be supposed the Lords are here slandered. It can hardly be, that they should take up a busines which was damn'd by King James long ago; when the Factious Party in the then House of Commons clamoured against the Prince's Match with Spain, and made Addresses to the King about it, who in much wrath told them, *They shou'd meddle with their own business, this being above them, &c.*

This point also the Faction was so bold to insist on, among the rest of their high Demands made to his Son in the *Nineteen Propositions*, 1642. to which his Majesty answered, *That to debar him of the free Marriage of his Children, would be to place him in a condition lower than the meanest of his Subjects.* This debarring of Princes from marrying where they please, would be to hinder them from making those great Advantages which many times they might get thereby, for the general good of the Kingdom. Therefore when it was pressed on, at the second Reading of the Bill, the Vote went in the Negative.

L E T T E R.

TIt notes the Duke of Lauderdale's being a Patron of the Church, and that his Coach was filled with Bishops; and the Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer's are of a just Size to the same Affair.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

Two Faults, it seems, these two Lords have, besides their being of a just Size to the true Interest of the Government, that is to say, Two Good Places, Crime enough in this Age for Ministers of State; for which, while one man lives, they are sure never to be forgiven. I will not swear my Lord of Shaftsbury had a hand in this L E T T E R; but as weak a man as I am, may be apt to imagine so, because he takes such care those two Noble Lords should not be forgotten; nor the Duke of Lauderdale, because he keeps all quiet in Scotland; so that there is no possibility of beginning again the Ruine of our English Bishops by the way of Scotland; nor of getting Friends into a Scots Parliament, to second the fine Speeches made here in England.

L E T T E R.

NOW comes the memorable Session of Apryl 13. 1675. than which, never any came with more expectation of the Court, or dread and apprehension of the People.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

They were much beholden then to his Lordship, to remove their Fears, by taking a course to convert the Houses into cock-pits, to make sport for the Nation. The Court indeed were so foolish as to expect better things; but this must be imputed to the want of his Lordships Wisdom among them. But what was the occasion that his Lordship laid hold on, thus to transform them? His Pocket-business of Shirley did not do all the mischief; but there was another, called, *The Bill of Test.*

LET-

L E T T E R.

His Bill of Test was brought into the House of Lords by the Earl of Lindsey Lord High Chamberlain, a Person of great Qualities, but in this imposed upon.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

But others are of opinion his Lordship did it, as an Act of high Loyalty, answerable to that most Noble Character which his Family justly bears in the opinion of His Majesty and the whole World; who can never forget either them, or the memory of that great Man the Father of them, Earl of Lindsey; who in the first famous Battel of Edge-Hill, being Lord General of His Majesties Army, most valiantly spilt his Blood in that Service, in hope immediately to have restored the Royal Family, and to have stopt that Issue of Blood, which ran so many years after about the Kingdom. Therefore it was no wonder that this Noble Lord, being his Grand-son, was the Man that brought in a Bill of Test; He and all his, being a Family that can endure a Test, in this, and all other Concerns of the King, the Church, and of the Nation.

L E T T E R.

It was then Read the first time without much opposition: But at the second Reading, the Lord Keeper, (now Lord Chancellor) and some other Lords, made Elaborate Speeches, the Keeper calling it A moderate Security to the Church and Crown, and that no Honest Man could refuse it; and whoever should, would give great suspicion of dangerous and Anti-Monarchical Principles. And they shew'd what dangerous Times we are in, all Men not having laid aside the Principles of Rebellion.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

Certainly, it was well observed by those Lords: and therefore I suppose it was high time to take Pen in hand, to manifest the Truth, that the late Discourses and practises of some men, during several past Sessions of Parliament, are no other but the same very courses that were practised with the like heat and violence, and with the same method against the King, the Church, and the whole State, both in and out of Parliament, as appears through the whole Current of these *Animadversions*: in which I had not been so large, but that it was most necessary to present to view, the new Transactors of the *Faction*, now drest, and acting in the habit, principles and posture of the old Masters of the late *Rebellion*; which might lie for ever buried in the *Act of Oblivion*, if these men did not rake all up again into fresh remembrance, whether we will or no. *God forgive them.*

Was it not then wisely and nobly done of my Lord Chancellor, and the rest of those noble Lords, to think of some way of Security against such Designs as we see on foot.

L E T T E R.

But the Earl of Shaftesbury, and some other Country-Lords, (the good Earl of Shaftesbury, a man that in all the variety of Changes of this last Age, was never known to be bought or frightened out of his publick principles)

[*Risum teneatis amici?*]

He

He at large open'd the ill Designs and Consequents of the Bill, and pressed it might be laid aside.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

THAT Clause of his Lordships great Constancy and Fidelity, you have had enough of before; so that you see his Lordships Friend the *Letter-Man*, had a large stock of Confidence to pen it; and I am apt to believe Some-body never blusht at the Reading it. Nor do I think a Common Whore, when she brags her self as honest as any of her Neighbours, was ever out of countenance. It is at this time a great question among his Friends in the City, whether they shall take Security upon his Lordships Honour, that he will be as hot against the *Test* this time twelve-moneth: For Silk, or Cloth, or Stuffs, or the like, they are ready enough to give him Credit; but if ye talk of *State-Commodities*, they shrink the shoulder, and say nothing. 'Tis therefore wisely done of him, to talk against giving Security for such matters. —— But it will next be requisite to see what Form of Security it is, against which there was raised so loud a Clamour: it is this following, as saith the **L E T T E R**.

IA. B. do declare, That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King: And that I do abhor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him in pursuance of such Commission. And I do swear, That I will not at any time endeavour an Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State.

L E T T E R.

THE Earl of Shaftsbury spak with such convincing reason, that all the Lords that were at liberty from Court-Engagements, resolved to oppose it to the uttermost; and the debate lasted five several days, Before the Bill was committed.

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

THIS certainly is a very severe Reflection upon those Noble Lords, who in this day understood the true Interest of Peerage to be, to adhere close and firm to the Crown. And 'tis known the greatest part of them had no Engagement to the Court, but what was by Religion, the Law, their Allegiance, their Interest, and Sence of Honour; and this is the Court-Engagement, not only of all Lords, but of every Loyal Subject. In the other sort of Court-Engagements, his Lordship was not long since so much concerned, that when he came to lose them, no Obligation whatsoever could hold him to white-hall any longer. No Penny, no Pater Noster. The Devil never wonder'd at Job's great Devotion toward the Court of Heaven, as long as God held him in Pension: nor did I at his Lordships, while the King held him in Offices. A multitude followed Christ for the loaves: but far be it from us, to reckon so noble a Peer as his Lordship among the Multitude, though we are told here, that he carried on the Debate for five dayes together, before it was committed to a Committee of the whole House. So that by such a behaviour, one would think he had never had any Court Engagement whatsoever. For at length, it seems, the Debate ended in a Protestation made by him, and 23 other Lords, against that Oath; whose names his Lordships *Letter-Man* sets down in a *List*, printed there no doubt on purpose to engage them to such new Resolutions, for which he may have further occasion to use them. But knowing they are noble Lords; and to the end, that space may be left them for *Second Thoughts*, and because of the honor I bear them and their Families, I forbear

bear to Re-print them. For upon a second Reading , 'tis past my understanding how 'tis possible any man can , from the Master of that *Oath* , have occasion to make many words of exception , and out-cry ; or where the harm is , to take an Oath to maintain my Loyalty , if I have right and good intentions , though perhaps it were not customary for me , or men of my quality and condition so to do , especially in such a time as this , wherein so many mens Hearts and Tongues have been faltering in those Respects , and the Reverence which they owe towards the King and His Government. Nor can I conceive , there being no other intent in those noble Lords who were for the taking of the Oath , but to give the Crown a Security in a dangerous time , how it can be censured *an Infringement of the Freedom and Privileges of Peerage* ; when as it is clear , that if the Crown be unsecure , the danger is more to the Peers than to any other part of the People ? For when the popular Storm shall fall , if Monarchy fail , then farewell to Liberties , Privileges , Peerage and All. Nor let any part of the Lords flatter themselves , that they shall fare better than others ; or that if a Rebellion should begin again (which God forbid) it would be possible for them to hold any share in Authority , more than those Lords did who Sat and Acted against His Majesty after he was driven away by Tumults from *Westminster* ; they may remember themselves also were at length not only driven away by Tumults , but by Tumultuary Proceedings , the whole order of *Nobility and Monarchy* it self were utterly extirpated. *What hath been* , (saith *Solomon*) *may be* ; and there is nothing new under the Sun. A sharp Precedent it is , sufficient to instruct you and your Posterity to judge ; that no security can be given too much to the Crown in a tottering time , when popular Clouds and Heats do gather and melt in the Sky , and when there is (as I have made appear) a visible Storm ready to fall , first upon the Court and the Bishops , if some men may have their Wills ; then you know what ensues to the Government , and all the rest of the Kingdom.

What a shame then would it be to me , to trifle away time much longer , by insisting upon that unsavoury *LETTER* , which so industriously takes care to set forth the good Parts , and other Qualities of the Earl of *Shaftsbury* , that one would think it had been written on purpose ?

What need we trouble our selves , how his Lordship and his Partners Signed the next day a *Second Protestantation* , and then a *Third* the day after that ? I could never tell before what Religion my Lord was of : Sure , he is now a very notable Protestant . What need we tell that he got the other Lords , his Friends , to set their Names to the last , as well as the two former *Protestations* ? His Lordship took care to dip them in the *Ink-pot* ; he will have no flinching ; over shoes , over boots too ; then they are season'd , and can be no starters .

To what purpose should I repeat what this *LETTER* tells , how some Lords spun out such *DIVINITY* about *State-Oaths* , that one would even swear they had been furnish'd by their own new Chaplains ? or how one Lord argued , *That no State could really have any security by Oaths* ? I think so too among *some sorts of Christians* : But I remember , among the *Heathens* , an Oath did signify Somewhat ; and that of old , it was thought Wisdom , and good Policy by all the World , By Oathes to oblige men unto Obedience and Loyalty . We are assured , the *Father of the Faithful* , *Abraham* , did so in his Kingdom , he being reckoned in those dayes a mighty Prince : And it was to oblige his servant to secure the Succession of his Principality , by such an Alliance as himself had appointed , *Genesis 24. 3. and 9. Verses* . *I will (said he) make thee swear unto me by the Lord , the God of Heaven , and the God of the Earth , &c.* It follows , *And his Servant put his hand under the thigh of Abraham , and sware to him concerning that matter* . In another place also we find King *Abimelech* making *Abraham* to Swear , not to deal falsely with him and his Posterity . And (saith the Text) *Abraham said , I will*

will swear. *Abraham* was then within the Kingdom of *Abimelech*, and had protection from him, therefore took an Oath of Fidelity to him. Both which Oaths had certainly never passed, had not *Abraham* thought it lawful for him, both to exact, and to give an Oath of Fealty. Which is no more than what is contained in that *Oath of the Test*; about which the Protesters made so great a Bustle, that the Debates (as this *LETTER* saith) took up *sixteen or seventeen whole dayes debate together*. And in the foregoing part of these *Animadversions*, you may remember I noted, that in the printed Arguments of their Lordships, it was confessed, (what Conscience about an Oath soever was pretended) *that those debates were taken upon purpose, to spin out the time, that the Houses might not be able to do any part of the publick business*; and that thereupon might follow a fair occasion to make an Out-cry, to be rid of this Parliament.

That *Oath of Test* differs but little from the *Oath of Allegiance*; and 'tis shrewdly to be suspected, that he who contends against this, would refuse likewise the other Oath, if it were tender'd unto him again. Nor can I see why he should scruple the one more than the other, unless it be for the sake of this one good Clause in it, that he was by the *Test* to have sworn, *That he abhors that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by the Kings Authority against his Person*: a Doctrinal distinction used (as I told you) in the beginning of the late Wars; a meer device to pull scruples out of mens Consciences, that they might fool themselves into an opinion, that they fought for the King, as well as the Parliament, though they shot their Bullets against his Presence and Person: so that in case they had shot him dead, they were still to understand it was no hurt to his Authority. Thus the Pope heretofore, and his party, when by sentence they Excommunicated Kings, and Deposed them as *Hereticks*, and employed Villains to assassinate them, steel'd their Consciences, for the doing of the fatal deed, with a like distinction, *That they killed the Heretick, not the King*. Which comes all to one end with our new *Jesuitical Position*, That you may in your minds separate a Kings Authority from a Kings Person; then use it to take Arms against him; which if he resists, you are to conceive he resists the *Kingly Authority*; by consequence becomes an Enemy or Rebel: and so if in the resistance you kill him, *you kill the Rebel, not the King*. But this is not the only point of subtlety wherein our fine *Spinners of Theology and Policy* do agree with the *Jesuites*. Was it not then (think ye) high time for those Noble Lords to promote that *Oath of Test*, and insert in it that most necessary Clause of abhorring so damnable a Doctrine? For, whosoever he be that resists to declare his abhorrency of it, and persuades men publickly to the like refusal, doth as good as give an open alarm to the State, and threaten Rebellion; while he prepares and draws a party into the same persuasion and opens unto them so ready a way to it. So that from a sort of people so instructed, I easily grant, there can be *no security by Oaths, unto any State whatsoever*; as some of the Protesters did affirm.

But the *LETTER* proceeds further about Oaths, and tells us, *Christ himself hath forbidden such Oaths*; and that *Grotius*, in his *Book de Jure Belli & Pacis*, seems to make it plain from *Matth. 5. 34, 37. Swear not at all, &c.* Lord! what Absurdities will not men say and do, when they are out of humour! I shew'd before how shrewdly their *Protesting Lordships* were put to it in point of State, to borrow Arguments from the *Levellers*; but now for Divinity about Oaths, they are fain to borrow of the *Quakers*, and would fain make *Grotius* a *Quaker* too: but yet they confess he doth but seem to make plain the Doctrine; therefore, since 'tis not worth the while, nor have I time, to shew them at large their mistakes of the Authors meaning, I affirm what is plainly the sense of those Texts---- The *Jews* had among them an ill custom of mingling Oaths with their *ordinary communication*, such as these, *By Heaven; By the Earth; By Jerusalem, and By my Head*. These are nothing of kin to *State-Oaths*, or Oaths before a Magistrate; but the prohibition intended thereby *christ* is against idle and profane Oaths in common Conversation; as appears by these closing words, *But let your communication be Yea, yea; Nay, nay: For, whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil*. Our *Saviour*

riour restringett manifestly the fence and scope of his words to mens evil Communica-
tion , and the stress of his prohibition is laid upon common Oaths in discourse , (as is
obvious to any man well in his fences) and it cannot be wrested against Oaths of any
other kind , without the torture of an *obstinate Faction*. And yet it must be understood
of State-Oaths when his little Lordship will have it so , and hath a mind to lead about,
and *Antony* or *doze* a company of his *easie Believers*. But it was bodily ventur'd , to
preach such stuff upon those Texts as he did , in the very *Temple of wisdom* ; I mean ,
that Sacred Assembly of the House of Peers , where his Majesty is supposed to be al-
ways present.

Nevertheless , we are told by the *Letter* , that in the same House they had every day ,
from his Lordship and his Friends , one *Sermon* or other as good as that ; not upon
Points of Divinity , but upon *Niceties* , and *Quillets* , and *Quibbles* , and *fine-spun Cob-
webs of Policy* ; telling the World how to *bound Monarchy* , and *shackle Kings with fear
of Human Resistance* ; and not leave them *only to the fear of God to restrain them*. Thus the
Corn of Kings is measured by his Lordships little Bushel ; He *muses, as he uses* ; implies the
Fear of God to be of little force to govern Kings and States-men ; and therefore con-
cludes , that *Never any Country, free like ours, suffered any Standing Guards to be about
their Prince*. The *Guards* (it seems) are great *Blocks* in the way of the *Faction* , that
the design cannot march on so fast as they would have it. His Lordship hath the wis-
dom of the *Wolves* in *Aesop's Fables* , and would give us such *Advice* , as if he took us
all to be but *Sheep* , silly enough , to consent , that the King should part with His *Keepers* ;
and then the *Faction* knows how to *H A N D L E H I M without Mittens*. It was the
fear of Faction and New Sedition , that first set up these *Guards* ; and then both Parlia-
ment and People rejoiced in them , as most needful for the safety of their Prince and
His Government. But now , when *F A C T I O N* is at the *HEIGHT* , and BRAVES the
KING to HIS FACE in HIS HIGHEST COURT , in a *MORE AUDACIOUS MANNER*
than at first *THEY* did *HIS FATHER* , it is *HIS LORDSHIPS OPINION* the *Guards*
should be taken off : and then , What shall hinder the *Sheep* from being brought to
Slaughter ?

The *LETTER* tells also , what other strange Instances were Preached in the same
House , and selected out of the times of some weak *Princes* , to shew , that sometimes
it can be *no Traiterous Position* , to affirm , That *Subjects may take Arms against per-
sons Commissioned by the King* , though the King be among them in Person. What is
this , but to argue from particular Cases of ext aordinary Contingency , to Debauch
men from Duties of ordinary Practice ; contrary to all *Logick and Rule of Argumentation* ?
and from thence also to conclude , 'tis an Invasion of the Subjects Liberty , to impose
upon them an *Oath* , to Swear for the Security and satisfaction of the King in a time of
publick danger , and the visible Approaches of Rebellion ?

It tells us also , how the Earl of *Shaftsbury* went on next , to find fault with that
Clause of the Oath of Test , which obliges , not to make any *Alteration in the Church or
State*. It seems , not only his Lordship , but some others also were touched to the
Quick by it ; and , it was a sign of some Conscience in men , to startle at an *Oath* to be
taken against *Alteration* , when nothing but *Alteration* is intended , with an irreparable
diminution of the Government both in Church and State ; as hath been manifested
throughout this Discourse already. ----- First , for the *Church* , Who can judge other-
wise , when as the *LETTER* gives next an Account , how the Earl of *Shaftsbury* in a
Speech treated the *Church* ? some think he did it spightfully , and that he was too Co-
mically bold in reflecting upon the *39 Articles* , the *Liturgy* , the *Book of Common Prayer* ,
and the *Canons*. All which were (as the *LETTER* saith) *the chiefest* *articles of the
Church* , *the chiefest* *ordinances* , *the chiefest* *ceremonies* , *the chiefest* *rites* , *the chiefest*
and *the Canons*. All which were (as the *LETTER* saith) *the chiefest* *articles of the
Church* , *the chiefest* *ordinances* , *the chiefest* *ceremonies* , *the chiefest* *rites* , *the chiefest*

To what end were they if not to make the *Church* , *the Ordinances* , *the Ceremonies* , *the Rites* , *the Canons* , *the chiefest* *articles of the Church* , *the chiefest* *ordinances* , *the chiefest* *ceremonies* , *the chiefest* *rites* , *the chiefest*

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comes of Course, after the Faction hath been flushed with baiting of Bishops. The Alteration of them is designed not too fierce at first; but, they will begin, as their Old TUTORS did formerly, by steps. They of old did declare at first, That THEY had No intent to let loose the Golden Reins of Discipline in the Church; yet, in a ~~year~~ or two of the year, they were so extravagant as to destroy it, and introduce another; and then Hell brake loose against the State as well as the Church. There is so strict a Connexion and Dependence betwixt them, that if you part with the one, the other lies open to the next Assault, and you shall part with it also. Or if the least diminution befall the Episcopal Discipline and Government, so as but to qualifie the Bishops Dignity, with an intermixture of Presbyters subordinate, which (I hear) is the first Part of the Design; so much of an alloy will, by necessary consequence, be given to the Crown, Kingly Power and Interest. For, a Single Person Governing a Diocese, is, 1. More answerable in its From to a Monarch: and he knows nothing, that knows not what a mighty influence *meer Form* hath upon the very minds of men, and the affairs of the World. 2. The greater the power and dignity of the Bishop is, the more able he will be, upon all occasions, to assist the Crown. 3. He must also be the more ready; because, when *single*, he will not be impeded by a clog of Advices and Importunities of the *cross-grain'd Brethren*; who, by the Charm of well-acted Sanctimony, which ever gains upon the ignorant vulgar, will always be stealing away the hearts of people from him; and consequently from the King: because they will ever reckon themselves more obliged to follow *Popular Patrons*, who will always be concerned to favour them more than the Bishop, as instruments more likely to serve *Popular Ends*. For these Reasons, it will be the Crowns perpetual Interest to maintain the Episcopal Power entire and *unmixt*; give the Presbyter but an *Inch*, and he will soon take an *Ell*. The natural *genius* of the Faction is, in activity beyond the *Jesuits*, restless and proud as *Lucifer*, and in hypocrisy as compleat and zealous as a *Pharisee*. Whoever reads the *Histories of Nations*, where they have had any thing to do, will find this Character is true. And for fidelity to Kings, I remember King James in his *Basilicon Doron*, *Believe me* (saith he) *who have tried them, that you shall find more Faith among High-land Thieves and Robbers, than in this Faction.* 'Tis a true *Serpent*; for if he can but get in his Head among the Bishops, he will soon *wind in his whole Body* into the best share of Ecclesiastical Authority; and as much as the Bishops lose, is lost from the King, whenever the Presbyters and their *Patrons* shall please to join Resolutions to dispute him. There is one in the World understands this so well, that he thinks it worth his while to spend whole days and half nights in Parliamentary Disputation against this Oath; that so a door may be kept open for some Alteration. And if ever it comes (which God forbid) it may be gheised what the Crown is like to get, whenas the 29th page of the LETTER saith, [*The Lords against the Bill of Test were in no ways satisfied, but plainly spoke out, That Men had been, might, and were likely to be, in either House, too much for the King as they call'd it*] Which certainly was an odd saying to come out of the mouth of a Lord; therefore I spare his Name.

But the LETTER is so crafty as to take another course; for to make sure Lordships to the *Faction*, it tells what this, and that, and t'other Lord said, and *un*wisely, and learnedly, and gallantly, and wittily every Lord of that humour acquitted himself, and sets down every one of their Names to the Account: Though it be a questionable Point, whether a twelve-month hence any one Lord will think himself obliged for the Courtesie.

So I have done with that LETTER, and leave the World to judge, what he deserves who wrote it, and who contriv'd it, who prepared the Materials, and then supplied the Pen-man with them, and who directed him to put them into Execution. In the Execution of them, it did put so high a Provocation upon both the *Popish Clergy* and *Protestant Clergy*, that they did not scruple to be *united* in an Order which condemned it.